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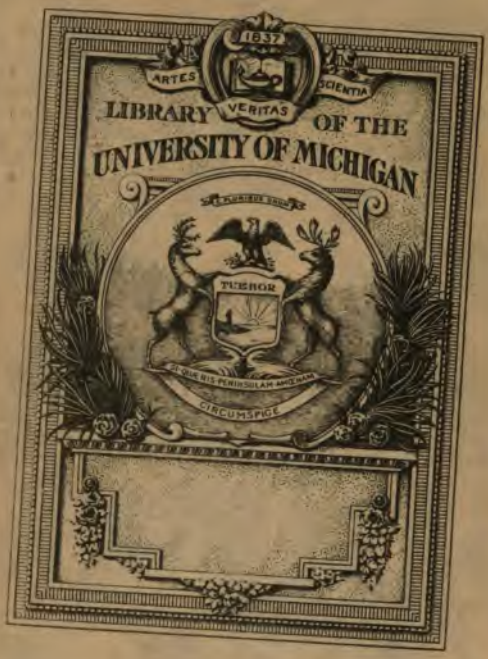
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*To his Grace D.r* Thomas Herring,
*Lord Archbishop of* YORK,

*This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his*
*Graces most obedient Serv.t*
*Joseph Grove*

*N. Parr Sculp*

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# THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal WOLSEY*,

Prime Miniſter to King HENRY VIII.

I. Of his Birth, and the various Steps he took to attain Preferment, connected with Affairs, both Foreign and Domeſtick, from the Death of EDWARD IV. to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII.

II. Of his Conduct and Management while Prime Miniſter, commencing with the Reign of HENRY VIII. and continued by way of Annals to his Diſgrace and Death, including the general Tranſactions of *Europe*.

III. Memoirs of the Emperor CHARLES V. HENRY VIII. and FRANCIS I. from the Demiſe of the Cardinal, to their reſpective Deaths.

IV. The Secret Hiſtory of the Cardinal, by *George Cavendiſh*, Eſq; his Gentleman-uſher, written in the Reign of PHILIP and MARY.

In which are interſperſed

The LIVES and memorable ACTIONS of the moſt eminent Perſons: And the whole illuſtrated with Political and Moral Reflections.

Collected from Antient RECORDS, MANUSCRIPTS, and HISTORIANS.

Adorn'd with CUTS, and a compleat INDEX.

*Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.* CIC.

*Oh fatal Love of Fame! Oh glorious Heat!*
*Only deſtructive to the Brave and Great.* ADDIS.

*By* JOSEPH GROVE, *Gent.*

The SECOND EDITION, VOL. IV.

*LONDON:*
Printed for J. WOOD, at the *Royal-Exchange*.
MDCCXLVIII.

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TO

His EXCELLENCY

# *WILLIAM,*

## Earl of HARRINGTON,

## Lord-Lieutenant-General,

AND

## General Governor of IRELAND.

*My LORD,*

THE important Service you have render'd your Country, both in a Military and Civil Capacity; the many arduous Negotiations in which you have acquitted yourself with real Dig-

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nity and the utmoſt Reputation; and that general Protection and Encouragement, which LEARNING has ever found from your Hands, are Inducements that embolden me to hope your Excellency's Patronage of this Volume.

THE Actions of the great Stateſman, whoſe Life I have attempted to write, were not only the Wonder of his own Age, but have afforded a large Field for the Diſquiſition of ſucceeding Times. And therefore I have preſumed to lay them before ſo impartial a Judge as your Excellency, able at once to diſcover his Errors, and at the ſame time generous enough to acknowledge his Virtues.

IT is doubtleſs with grateful Joy, that a neighbouring Nation has experienced the happy Effects of your Excellency's wiſe and equal Adminiſtration: *Ireland* will certainly in her lateſt

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lateſt Annals remember that Period, in which ſhe enjoy'd two ſucceſſive Governors of the illuſtrious Name of STANHOPE. And that your Excellency may long poſſeſs thoſe Honours to which you have roſe by your own continued Integrity and unblemiſh'd Virtue, is I believe the hearty Wiſh of all *True Britons*, but of none more ardently than him who begs Leave to ſubſcribe himſelf with the higheſt Reſpect,

*My LORD,*

*Your Excellency's*

*Moſt obedient and*

*Moſt humble Servant*

*to command,*

Richmond, Nov. 26, 1748.

JOSEPH GROVE.

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# THE

# PREFACE.

IN our *Third Volume* we left the CARDINAL in a moſt exalted Sphere of miniſterial Action, and Splendor, and in the greateſt Eſteem with his Royal Maſter. In this we have deſcended with him, from his Zenith of Glory to his Diſmiſſion from Court, where we behold him as much neglected as he was before careſſed, and as much vilified as before applauded: Though we have ſeen no Reaſon for that mighty Indignation, which cauſed this extream Change; but are fully convinced, that, when the Glory given to him was removed, his Integrity had not departed from him, and that he was in himſelf as meritorious as ever.

The Obſervation in the following Line,

*Regis ad exemplum, totus componitur orbis,*

was too fatally verified in the undeſerved Fall and Treatment this great Man met with: We learn, however, from hence two uſeful Leſſons; the one,

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one, the *Vanity of human Greatneſs*; the other, the *Variableneſs of human Judgments*.

As we have had Occaſion, in ſeveral Places, to mention the Reaſons that induced us to undertake the Compiling *this Hiſtory*, we ſhall not here repeat them: But only obſerve, that, notwithſtanding ſome Errors may have ſlipped us, we hope there will not appear any but ſuch as are common; that, we are not conſcious to ourſelves of any partial Fondneſſes for our principal Character, nor of any undue Severities towards his Enemies, either dead or living; that tho' we have taken more Freedom with Monſieur *Rapin*, than with any other Author, our Readers may ſee we were not the firſt who did ſo, if they will but attend the many Pieces that have been publiſhed to ſet forth his Miſtakes; and that we do not conceive even the moſt Cenſorious can bring againſt us the Charge of undertaking this Publication with a *mercenary View*, eſpecially as there could be no Hopes of *Family* Gratifications, in vindicating the Character of one who was the firſt and laſt Perſon in his, of any the leaſt Conſequence or Diſtinction.

After having ſpoke of the many Circumſtances relating to his Diſgrace, and attended him both in his Retirement from the World, and his final Departure out of it, we were brought to the MEMOIRS with which this Volume and this Work is concluded, and diſpatched them with as much Conciſeneſs as poſſible.

And we cannot but here hint, that we have been at a much larger Expence about this Collection, than our *Subſcriptions* have hitherto anſwered; though we are not uneaſy on that Account, becauſe,

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becauſe, in diſcharge of our Obligations to the Encouragers of it, we have afforded them more Matter and a greater Number of Embelliſhments than is uſually given, or might reaſonably be expected.

In this Volume will be further ſeen what Uſe has been made of *ancient Records*, and other valuable *Letters* and *Papers*, many of which are preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office:* And, as to our taking ſo many large Quotations from the inimitable *Shakeſpear*, we ſay, that, finding him ſo full of fine Imagery, in Relation to our CARDINAL, *&c.* we thought ſome of his Scenes would be no diſagreeable Parts in our Hiſtory.

We muſt own too, that we are particularly obliged to ſeveral worthy Gentlemen, who furniſhed us with *Original Letters*, or other Matters, made uſe of in the Courſe thereof; which leads us here to acquaint our Readers, that the CARDINAL had another *Dignity* in the Church, which had eſcaped us, till communicated by a Gentleman (while the *Index* to this Volume was printing off) in theſe Words,

To Mr. GROVE,

*SIR,*

*AMong the many Preferments, which Cardinal* Wolſey *enjoyed, I do not find any of our Hiſtorians mention that of the* Deanry of Saint Stephens, Weſtminſter. *As you would probably take Occaſion to mention this in your Hiſtory, I give you the Trouble of this Letter.*

*On the 3d of* October, Anno 4to, Hen. 8. *the King, by Letters Patents, granted the next Turn in*

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*in the Deanry of* St. Stephens *to* Richard Fox, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* George, *Earl of* Shrewſbury, *who, on the* 18*th of* October, *in the ſame Year, preſented* Thomas Wulcy, *the* King's Almoner, *and he was admitted and inſtituted into it by* John, *Abbot of* Weſtminſter.

*This appears by an Entry in the* Regiſter, *or* Leaſe-books, *of the Church of* Weſtminſter. *In the ſame Book is a long Particular of the Ceremony* * *obſerved when* Wolſey *received his Cardinal's* Cap, *and is thus intitled,* ——— Forma Inſtructionis jam a Lxxv Annis, obſervat ſuper Tranſmiſſione Capelli rubei & Annuli ad novem CARDINALEM.

26*th of* June,
1744. I am, Sir, &c.

* See Vol. II. Pag. 290.

## ERRATA.

VOL. II. Page 1, Line 6, for *about Eighteen*, read *not Seventeen*; p. 17, l. 13, f. 3*d of March*, r. 3*d of June*.

VOL. III. Page 361, in the Note, Col. 2, Line 19, f. *one Barnes*, r. *one Harneſs*.

VOL. IV. Page 6, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 20, f. *on his own Horſe*, r. *to his own Houſe*; p. 10, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 8, for *Who thought*, r. *Who little thought*; p. 15, l. 2, f. *Cheney* r. *Cheney*; p. 51, in the Note, Col. 1, l. 16, f. *Friends*, r. *Enemies*; p. 80, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 16, f. 1537, r. 1534; p. 160, l. 21, f. *Princeſs*, r. *Princeſſes*; p. 180, l. 2, f. *Philip the VIIth*, r. *the IId*; p. 184, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 7. f. *repoſe*, r. *repair*; p. 207, l. 21, f. *mute Maſters*, r. *Moot-maſters*; p 288, in the Note, Col. 2, l. 2, f. 1741, r. 1714. MEMOIRS, p. 20, l. 17, f. *ever*, r. *even*.

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# THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE and TIMES OF *Cardinal WOLSEY.*

WE concluded our Third Volume with taking notice of a Conſpiracy againſt his Imperial Majeſty and the *Spaniſh* Forces at *Milan*. The Beginning of the Year, 1526, the Commendary *Herara* returned from *Rome* to *Madrid*, and brought Letters from Pope *Clement* the VIIth, written with his own Hand, to the Emperor, in which he laboured to clear himſelf of the Imputation of having any Hand in the Conſpiracy, by laying the Fault on the Marquis of *Peſcara*, and *Jerome Moreton*; and entreated the Emperor to pardon *Sforza*, and reſtore him to his Dominions of *Milan*: But, ſays the *Spaniſh* Writers, " the Emperor, knowing that the Duke would

*Affairs of* Spain, France, England, *and* Italy. 1526.



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" aſcribe the Benefit of his Liberty to the Interceſſion " of the Pope and the *Venetians*, and not to his Mercy " only, made little Account of their fair Words."

Alſo about this Time the captive King of *France* was brought to conſent to the Reſtitution of *Burgundy* for the Sake of his Liberty, only inſiſting, that it could not be performed till ſome Time after he was free, becauſe the People would never deliver it whilſt he was a Priſoner; but, for Security of the Performance, he agreed to deliver his two eldeſt Sons as Hoſtages. Though the Emperor thought good to take the Advice of his Council upon ſo important an Affair, yet, finding their Opinions ſo very different one from the other, as not to be reconciled, he reſolved to releaſe the King upon ſuch Terms as could be had. Accordingly the Treaty was concluded and ſigned, on the 14th of *January* at *Madrid*, by which Peace and Amity ſeemingly was eſtabliſhed between *Charles* the Vth and *Francis* the Iſt. The chief Articles of which were,

" That the King of *France* ſhould marry Queen " *Eleanora*, the Emperor's Siſter, and have with her " 200,000 Crowns in Gold.——That he ſhould be ſet " at Liberty on the 10th of *March*, and then deliver " his two Sons as Hoſtages.——That he ſhould " reſign to the Emperor the Dutchy of *Burgundy* in " full Sovereignty.——That he ſhould give up the " Homage the Emperor owed for *Flanders* and *Ar-* " *tois*.—That he ſhould renounce all Claim to *Naples*, " *Milan*, *Aſti*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Heſdin*, &c. ——That he " ſhould endeavour to perſuade *Henry d'Albert* to re- " ſign the Kingdom of *Navarre* to the Emperor, or at " leaſt ſhould give him no Aſſiſtance.—That within " 40 Days he ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon*, " and all his Party to their Eſtates.—That he ſhould " reſtore *Philbert de Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, and " *Michael Antonio de Saluzzo* to their Principality.— " That he ſhould give no ſort of Aſſiſtance to the " Duke of *Guelders*, and, after that Prince's Death,

" uſe

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" uſe his beſt Endeavours to cauſe his Towns to fall " into the Emperor's Hands.—That he ſhould pay the " King of *England* 500,000 Crowns which the Em- " peror owed him.—That, when the Emperor ſhould " go to *Italy*, to receive the Imperial Crown, he " ſhould ſend him 12 Gallies, four large Ships, and " a Land Army, or 200,000 Crowns inſtead of the " Army.——Laſtly, he promiſed, upon the Word and " Honour of a Prince, to execute all theſe Articles, or " to return Priſoner into *Spain* within ſix Months."

To

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## The SECRET HISTORY of the CARDINAL, by GEORGE CAVENDISH, Eſq; his Gentleman-Uſher.

### CHAP. XV.

*Of the King's Diſcovery of his Love to Miſtreſs* Anne Bulloigne *to the Cardinal, with the Cardinal's Diſlike, and alſo the Opinion of all learned Biſhops in* England, *and foreign Univerſities.*

' AFTER this began new Matters which troubled the Heads and Imaginations of all the Court, wherewith all their Stomachs were full, but little Digeſtion, *viz.* the long-concealed Affection of the King to Miſtreſs *Anne Bulloigne* now break out, which his Majeſty diſcloſed to the Cardinal, whoſe often Perſuaſions on his Knees took no Effect.

' My Lord thereupon being compelled to declare to his Majeſty his Opinion and Wiſdom in the Advancement of the King's Deſires, thought it not ſafe for him to wade too far alone, or to give raſh Judgment in ſo weighty a Matter, but deſired Leave of the King to aſk Counſel of Men of antient and famous Learning both in divine and civil Laws.

' Now this being obtained, he by his Legatine Authority ſent out his Commiſſions for the Biſhops of this Realm, who not long after aſſembled all at *Weſtminſter* before my Lord Cardinal. And not only theſe *Prelates*, but alſo the moſt learned Men of both *Univerſities*, and ſome from divers Cathedral Colleges in this Realm, who were thought ſufficiently able to reſolve this doubtful Queſtion.

' At this learned Aſſembly was the King's Caſe conſulted



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To confirm this Treaty, *Francis* and his Ambaſſadors ſwore, by the Sacraments and the Holy Evangeliſts, to keep it all Days of his Life, and not to give Counſel to, or favour any one that ſhould break it.

At this Time *Charles* was under great Perplexities, beſides thoſe already mentioned: He knew, that the Princes and *Hans Towns* of *Germany*, that had embraced *Luther*'s Doctrine, began to take Meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the Calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added the Dread of a



'of, debated, argued, and judged from Day to Day. But in 'concluſion, when theſe antient 'Fathers of Law and Divinity 'parted, they were all of one 'Judgment, and that contrary 'to the Expectation of moſt 'Men. And I heard ſome of 'the moſt famous and learned 'amongſt them ſay, the King's 'Caſe was too obſcure for any 'Man, and the Points therein 'were doubtful to have any Reſolution therein, and ſo at that 'time with a general Conſent 'departed, without any Reſolution or Judgment.

'In this Aſſembly of Biſhops 'and divers other learned Men, 'it was thought very expedient 'that the King ſhould ſend out 'his Commiſſioners into all Univerſities in Chriſtendom, as 'well here in *England*, as foreign Regions, there to have 'this Caſe argued ſubſtantially, 'and to bring with them from 'thence every Definition of their 'Opinions of the ſame, under 'the Seal of every Univerſity, 'and thus for this Time were 'their Determinations.

'And thereupon divers Commiſſioners were preſently appointed for this Deſign: So 'ſome were ſent to *Cambridge*, 'ſome to *Oxford*, ſome to *Lorain*, others to *Paris*, ſome to *Orleans*, others to *Padua*, all 'at the proper Coſts and Charges of the King, which in the 'whole amounted to a great 'Sum of Money: And all went 'out of this Realm, beſides the 'Charge of the Ambaſſage to 'thoſe famous and notable Perſons of all the Univerſities, 'eſpecially ſuch as bear the Rule, 'or had the Cuſtody of the Univerſity Seals, were fed by 'the Commiſſioners with ſuch 'great Sums of Money, that 'they did eaſily condeſcend to 'their Requeſts, and grant their 'Deſires.

'By reaſon whereof all the 'Commiſſioners returned with 'their Purpoſe, furniſhed according to their Commiſſions 'under the Seal of every ſeveral Univerſity, whereat there 'was no ſmall Joy conceived of 'the principal Parties. Inſomuch that ever after the Com-

'miſſioners

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a *Turkiſh* Invaſion in *Hungary*, the *Turks* becoming every Day more powerful: So that, in all likelihood, if *Francis* had not been ſo very haſty, the Emperor would have rather deſiſted from *Burgundy*, than have been expoſed to ſo many Enemies at once. And theſe were the real Motives that prevailed on *Charles* to haſten the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Madrid*, contrary to the Inſtances and Oppoſition of many of his Counſellors.

But it ſeems what *Francis* did at the High Altar was

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

'miſſioners were had in great 'Eſtimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded far 'beyond their worthy Deſerts. 'Notwithſtanding they proſpered, and the Matter went ſtill 'forward, having now, as they 'thought, a ſure Staff to lean 'upon.

'Theſe Proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, 'he ſent again for the Biſhops, 'to whom he declared the Effect 'of theſe Commiſſioners Pains; 'and, for Aſſurance thereof, 'ſhewed them the Inſtruments 'of each Univerſity under their 'ſeveral Seals; and the Buſineſs 'being thus handled, they went 'again to Conſultation how 'things ſhould be ordered.

'At laſt it was concluded, 'that it was very mete the King 'ſhould ſend unto the Pope his 'Holineſs, the Opinions of both 'Univerſities of *England*, and 'alſo foreign Univerſities, which 'were manifeſtly authorized by 'their common Seals. And it 'was alſo thought fit the Opinions of the worthy Prelates 'of *England* ſhould be ſent to 'the Pope, comprized in an Inſtrument which was not long 'time in finiſhing.

'Nor was it long after that 'the Ambaſſadors were aſſigned 'for this Deſign, who took their 'Journey accordingly, having 'certain Inſtruments, that if the 'Pope would not thereupon 'conſent to give Judgment definitively in the King's Caſe, 'then to require another Commiſſion from his Holineſs to be 'granted to his Legate, to eſtabliſh a Court here in *England*, 'for that Purpoſe only, to be 'directed to my Lord Cardinal 'Legate of *England*, and to 'Cardinal *Campian*, Biſhop of '*Bath*, which the King gave 'him at a certain Time, when 'he was ſent Ambaſſador hither 'from the Pope his Holineſs, to 'determine and rightly judge 'according to their Conſciences. 'To the which, after long Suit 'made, and for the Good-will 'of the ſaid Cardinal, the Pope 'granted their Suit.

'Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King, 'that his Grace's Pleaſure ſhould 'be

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was only a Farce; for, before he ſigned the Treaty, he made a formal, though ſecret, Proteſtation againſt it, in the Preſence of a few truſty Witneſſes and Notaries.

The Peace being proclaimed, King *Francis* and Queen *Eleanor* met, and were immediately married, but did not bed together; for, in leſs than two Hours after the Marriage, they parted. This looks as if there was more Compulſion than Good-liking in this Conjunction; otherwiſe they would in all Likelihood, have proceeded to a Conſummation.

The Emperor and the King for ſome Days after the Marriage remained together, and then ſet out from

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL.

'be now brought to paſs ſubſtantially, being never more 'likely, conſidering the State 'of the Judges.

'Long was the Expectation, 'on both Sides for the coming 'over of the Legate from *Rome*, 'who at laſt arrived in *England* 'with his Commiſſion, and, being much troubled with the 'Gout, his Journey was long 'and tedious e'er he could get 'to *London*, who ſhould have 'been moſt ſolemnly received 'at *Black-heath*; but he deſired 'not to be ſo entertained with 'Pomp and Vain-glory; and 'therefore he came very privately on his own Horſe without *Temple-bar*, called *Bath-place*, where he lay, the Houſe 'being furniſhed of all manner 'of Proviſion of my Lord's. So, 'after ſome Deliberation and 'Conſultation, in the ordering 'of the King's Buſineſs, now in 'hand by his Commiſſion, and 'Articles of the Ambaſſage, 'which being read, it was determined, that the King and the 'good Queen, his lawful Wife, 'ſhould be judged at *Bridewell* 'and in *Black-friars*, and ſome 'Place thereabouts the Court, to 'be kept for the Diſputation and 'Determination of the Cauſes and 'Differences between the King 'and the Queen, where they 'were to repair before theſe two 'Legates, who ſat as Judges; 'before whom the King and 'Queen were cited and ſummoned to appear; which was 'a ſtrange Sight, and the *neweſt* 'Device that ever was heard 'or read of in any Story or 'Chronicle: A King and a 'Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court as common 'Perſons, within their own 'Realm and Dominions, and 'to abide the Judgments and 'Decrees of their Subjects, being 'a Prerogative belonging to the 'Royal Diadem. [The *Divorce* too, we think, was *very new*.]

CHAP.

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from *Torrejon de Valaſco*, and coming to a Croſs where the Road parts, they took off their Hats, ſaying to each other, *God keep you, Brother*; and the Emperor took the Way to *Toledo*, and the King the other to *Madrid*, whence he continued his Journey to *Fuenterabia*, and ſo into *France*.

The Time drawing near when the Emperor was to marry *Elizabeth*, Princeſs of *Portugal*, ſhe was conducted to the Frontiers of that Kingdom by the Princes, her Brothers, and the prime Nobility, where ſhe was

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

## CHAP. XVI.

*A new Court erected to determine the King's Caſe, two Cardinals being Judges, having Power to convent the King and Queen; the Iſſue thereof.*

'IT is a wonderful Thing to conſider the Strength of Princes Wills, when they are bent to have their Pleaſure fulfilled, wherein no reaſonable Perſuaſions will ſerve the Turn; how little do they regard the dangerous Sequels that may enſue as well to themſelves as to their Subjects? And amongſt all Things there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal Love, and various affecting of voluptuous Deſires, wherein nothing could be of greater Experience than to ſee what Inventions were furniſhed, what Laws were enacted, what coſtly Edifices of noble and antient Monaſteries were overthrown, what Diverſities of Opinion then aroſe, what Extortions were then committed, how many learned and good Men were then put to Death, and what Alterations of good antient Laws, Cuſtoms, and charitable Foundations were turned from the Relief of the Poor, to the utter Deſtruction and Deſolation, almoſt to the Subverſion, of this noble Realm.

'It is a thouſand Pities to underſtand the Things that ſince have happened to this Land, the Proof whereof hath taught all us *Engliſhmen* lamentable Experience. If Men's Eyes be not blind they may ſee, and if their Ears be not ſtopped they may hear, and if Pity be not exiled their Hearts may relent and lament at the Sequel of this inordinate Love, altho' it laſted but a while. *O Lord God with-hold thine Indignation from us!*

'You ſhall underſtand, as I ſaid before, that there was a Court erected at *Black-friars, London*, where theſe two Cardinals

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was met and received by the Duke of *Calabria*, the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and many Perſons of Quality, ſent by the Emperor for that Purpoſe, who conducted her to *Badajos*, where they remained ſeven Days; and from thence they took their Journey to *Seville*, the Place appointed to celebrate the Nuptials at, and arrived there on the 3d of *March*; and her Reception was ſuch as became the Wealth and Dignity of that City. Eight Days after came the Emperor, and the ſame Night they were married by the Pope's Legate,



'dinals ſat as Judges: Now will 'I deſcribe unto you the Order 'of the Court.

'*Firſt*, There were many 'Tables and Benches ſet in 'manner of a Conſiſtory, one 'Seat being higher than ano-'ther for the Judges aloft; a-'bove them, three Degrees 'high, was a Cloth of Eſtate 'hanged, and a Chair-royal 'under the ſame, wherein ſat 'the King, and ſome Diſtance 'off ſat the Queen, and at the 'Judges Feet ſat the Scribes and 'Officers for the Execution of 'the Proceſs; the chief Scribe 'was Dr. *Stephens*, after Biſhop 'of *Wincheſter*, and the Appa-'ritor, who was called Doctor 'of the Court, was one *Cook* 'of *Weſtminſter*. Then be-'fore the King, and the Judges, 'ſat the Archbiſhop of *Can-'terbury*, Dr. *Warham*, and all 'other Biſhops; there ſtood 'at both Ends within Counſel-'lors learned in the Spiritual 'Laws, as well on the King's 'Side, as the Queen's Side. 'Dr. *Sampſon*, afterwards Biſhop 'of *Chicheſter*, and Dr. *Hall*, 'after Biſhop of *Worceſter*, with 'divers others; and Proctors in 'the ſame Law were Dr. *Peter*, 'who was afterwards chief Se-'cretary, and Dr. *Tregunmill*, 'with divers others.

'Now on the other Side, 'there were Counſel for the 'Queen Dr. *Fiſher*, Biſhop of '*Rocheſter*, and Dr. *Standiſh*, 'Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* in *Wales*, 'two brave noble Divines, 'eſpecially the Biſhop of *Ro-'cheſter*, a very godly Man, 'whoſe Death many Noblemen, 'and many worthy Divines 'much lamented, who loſt his 'Head about this Cauſe, e'er it 'was ended, upon *Tower-hill*; 'as alſo another antient Doctor, 'called Dr. *Ridley*, a little Man, 'but a great Divine. The 'Court being thus ordered, as 'is before expreſſed, the Judges 'commanded the Crier to pro-'claim Silence, whilſt the Com-'miſſion was read both to the 'Court and to the People there 'aſſembled: That done, and 'Silence being again proclaim-'ed, the Scribes commanded 'the Crier to call, *King Henry*

'*of*

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gate, to the Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom. In the mean Time the King of *France* was travelling towards the Frontiers, to be exchanged for the Hoſtages agreed upon, attended ſuitable to his Dignity; but, before he arrived there, ſeveral Articles were ſettled touching the Formality of the Exchange.*

Being come to *Hirungranza*, on the Banks of the River *Toleſa*, which parts *France* and *Spain*, the Gentlemen, who attended the King, made a Stand with him on the Edge of the River, as did the Lady Regent, the King's

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'*of England!* Whereunto the King anſwered and ſaid, *Here.* Then called he again the Queen of *England*, by the Name of *Katharine, Queen of England, Come into the Court, &c.* Who made no Anſwer thereunto, but roſe immediately out of her Chair where ſhe ſat: And becauſe ſhe could not come to the King directly, by reaſon of the Diſtance, therefore ſhe came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at his Feet, ſaying theſe Words in broken *Engliſh*, as followeth, *viz.*

'*Sir, quoth ſhe, I beſeech you, do me Juſtice and Right, and take ſome Pity upon me, for I am a poor Woman, and a Stranger, born out of your Dominions, having here no indifferent Counſel, and leſs Aſſurance of Friendſhip: Alas! Sir, how have I offended you, what Offence have I given you, intending to abridge me of Life in this Sort? I take God to witneſs, I have been to you a true and loyal Wife, ever conformable to your Will and Pleaſure, never did I contrary or gainſay your Mind, but always ſubmitted myſelf in all Things, wherein you had any Delight or Dalliance, whether it were little or much, without grudging or any Sign of Diſcontent: I have loved for your Sake all Men whom you have loved, whether I had Cauſe or not, were they Friends or Foes; I have been your Wife theſe 20 Years, by whom you have had many Children: And when I firſt came to your Bed, I take God to witneſs, I was a Virgin; whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conſcience: If there be any Cauſe that you can alledge either of Diſhoneſty or of any other Matter, lawfully to put me from you, I am willing to depart with Shame and Rebuke; but if there be none, then I pray you let me have Juſtice at your Hands.*

'*The King your Father was a Man of ſuch an excellent Wit in his Time, that he was accounted a ſecond* Solomon; *and the King of* Spain, *my Father,* Ferdinand, *was taken for one of*

* *See* Sandeval, *Vol. I. p.* 735, 36, 17.



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King's Mother, with the Dauphin and the Duke of *Orleans*, on the *French* Side. In the midſt of the River was a large Bark, moored faſt with ſeveral Anchors; then the King, with *Lanoy* the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and a certain Number of Gentlemen, went into one Boat, and at the ſame Time the Dauphin, the Duke of *Orleans*, and Marſhal *Lautrec*, with the like Number of Gentleman, entered another Boat; then moving equally, both at one Time, to the oppoſite Sides of the Bark, into which the King came with



' *of the wiſeſt Kings that reigned* ' *in* Spain *theſe many Years. So* ' *they were both wiſe Men and* ' *noble Princes; and it is no* ' *Queſtion but they had wiſe* ' *Counſellors of either Realm, as* ' *be now at this Day: Who* ' *thought, at the Marriage of you* ' *and me, to hear what new De-* ' *vices are now invented againſt* ' *me, to cauſe me to ſtand to the* ' *Order of this Court? And I con-* ' *ceive you do me much Wrong, may* ' *you condemn me for not anſwering,* ' *having no Counſel but ſuch as you* ' *aſſigned me: You muſt conſider,* ' *that they cannot be indifferent on* ' *my Part, being your own Subjects,* ' *and ſuch as you have made Choice* ' *of out of your own Council, where-* ' *unto they are privy, and dare not* ' *diſcloſe your Pleaſure.*

' *Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech* ' *you to ſpare me, until I know how* ' *my Friends in* Spain *will adviſe* ' *me: But if you will not, then let* ' *your Pleaſure be done.*

' And with that ſhe roſe, making a low Courteſy to the King, ' and departed from thence; all ' the People thinking ſhe would ' have returned again to her former Seat; but ſhe went preſently out of the Court, leaning ' upon the Arm of one of her ' Servants, who was her general ' Receiver, one Mr. *Griffith*.

' The King, ſeeing that ſhe ' was ready to go out of the ' Court, commanded the Cryer ' to call her again by theſe ' Words, *Katherine, Queen of* ' *England, come into the Court.* ' Lo, quoth Mr. *Griffith*, you ' are called again: Go on, ' quoth ſhe, it is no Matter; it ' is no indifferent Court for me, ' therefore I will not tarry, go ' on your Way; and ſo they departed without any further ' Anſwer at that Time, or any ' Appearance in any other Court ' after that.

' The King ſeeing ſhe was ' departed thus, and conſidering ' her Words, ſaid to the Audience theſe few Words in ' Effect.

' Foraſmuch, quoth he, as the ' Queen is gone, I will in her ' Abſence declare unto you all: ' She hath been to me a true ' obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wiſh or deſire; ' ſhe

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with twelve *Spaniards*, and the young Princes, with twelve *French* Gentlemen, exactly at the same Moment, the King being exchanged for his two Sons, who were conducted in his Boat to *Spain*, and the King got safe into *France* in the Boat that brought them to the Bark.

No sooner was the King on Shore in his own Kingdom, but he mounted on Horse-back, and rode full speed to *St. Jean de Luz*, and the next Day to *Bayonne*. In the mean time the Vice-roy of *Naples* conducted

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'she hath all the Virtues and 'good Qualities that belong to 'a Woman of her Dignity, or 'in any of meaner Estate; her 'Conditions will well declare 'the same.

'Then, quoth my Lord Car-'dinal, I humbly beseech your 'Highness to declare unto this 'Audience, whether I have been 'the first and chief Mover of 'this Matter unto your High-'ness, or no; for I am much 'suspected of all Men.

'My Lord Cardinal, quoth 'the King, you have rather ad-'vised me to the contrary, than 'been any Mover of the same. 'The special Cause, that moved 'me in this Matter, is a certain 'Scruple that pricked my Con-'science, upon certain Words 'spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon*, 'the *French* Ambassador, who 'came hither to consult of a 'Marriage between the Princess 'our Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, 'and the Duke of *Orleans*, se-'cond Son to the King of '*France*; and upon Resolution 'and Determination, he desired 'Respite to advertise the King 'his Master thereof, whether 'our Daughter *Mary* should be 'legitimate in respect of my 'Marriage with this Woman, 'being some time my Brother's 'Wife, which Words (I pon-'dering) begot such a Scruple in 'my Conscience that I was much 'troubled at it, whereby I 'thought myself in Danger of 'God's heavy Displeasure and 'Indignation, and the rather be-'cause he sent us no Issue Male; 'for all the Issue Male that I 'have had by my Wife died in-'continently after they came 'into the World, which caused 'me to fear God's Displeasure 'in that particular. Thus my 'Conscience being tossed in the 'Waves of troublesome Doubts, 'and partly in Despair to have 'any other Issue, than I had al-'ready by this Lady my now 'Wife; it behoved me to con-'sider the Estate of this Realm, 'and the Danger it stands in for 'lack of a Prince to succeed me. 'I thought it therefore good, in 'Release of this mighty Bur-'then on my Conscience, as 'also for the quiet Estate of this



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ducted the young Royal Captives to *Fuenterabia*, and delivered them to the Care of Don *John Tovar*, Marquis of *Barlanga*.

*Lanoy* having thus far proceeded, and taken Leave of the young Princes, passed over to *Bayonne*, to attend King *Francis*, in order to receive the Ratification of the Treaty. At first *Francis* shewed some Inclination to perform it; but at last he set out for *Paris* without doing it.

Thus was the King of *France* set at Liberty, after above



'Realm, to attempt a Trial in 'the Law herein: Whether I 'might lawfully take another 'Wife without carnal Concu-'piscence, by which God may 'send more Issue, in case this 'my first Copulation was not 'good; I not having any Dis-'pleasure in the Person, or Age 'of the Queen, with whom I 'could be well contented to 'continue (if our Marriage may 'stand with the Law of God) as 'with any Woman alive; in 'which Point consisteth all the 'Doubt that we go about, now 'to know by the learned Wis-'dom of you our Prelates and 'Pastors, of this Realm and 'Dominion, now here assem-'bled for that Purpose, to whose 'Consciences and Learning, I 'have committed the Care and 'Judgment, according to which 'I will (God willing) be well 'contented to submit myself, 'and obey the same: And when 'my Conscience was so troubled, 'I moved it to you, my Lord 'of *Lincoln*, in Confession, then 'being my Ghostly Father: 'And forasmuch as you were 'then in some Doubt, you mov-'ed me to ask Counsel of the 'rest of the Bishops; whereupon 'I moved it to you, my Lord 'Cardinal, to have your Li-'cense, forasmuch as you are 'Metropolitan, to put this Mat-'ter in question; and so I did 'to all you, my Lords, to which 'you all granted under your 'Seals, which is here to shew. 'That is Truth, quoth the 'Bishop of *Canterbury*, and I 'doubt not but my Brothers will 'acknowledge the same. No, 'Sir, not so, under Correction, 'quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, 'for you have not my Hand 'and Seal. No, quoth the King, 'Is not this your Hand and 'Seal? and shewed it to him in 'the Instrument with Seals: 'No, forsooth, quoth the Bishop. 'How say you to that, quoth 'the King to the Bishop of '*Canterbury?* Sir, It is his 'Hand and Seal, quoth the Bi-'shop of *Canterbury*. No, my 'Lord, quoth the Bishop of *Ro-'chester*, indeed you were in 'hand with me to have both my 'Hand and Seal, as other of 'the

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above a Year's Impriſonment. Dr. *Fiddes* ſays, " That when King *Francis* was exchanged, and found " himſelf at full Liberty in his own Country, he im- " mediately mounted a ſwift Horſe, and, putting " Spurs to him, rode with Precipitation, and expreſs- " ed himſelf after a Manner, rather diſcovering an " exceſſive Tranſport of Joy, than becoming the Ma- " jeſty and Sedateneſs of ſo great a Prince: For he " broke out into this Exclamation, *I am a King! I* " *am a King!* deſigning thereby to declare, that he had

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' the Lords had done, but I an- ' ſwered I would never conſent ' to any ſuch Act, for it was ' much againſt my Conſcience, ' and therefore my Hand and ' Seal ſhall never be ſet to ſuch ' an Inſtrument, (God willing) ' with many other Words to ' that Purpoſe. You ſay Truth, ' quoth the Biſhop of *Canter-* ' *bury*, ſuch Words you uſed, ' but you were fully reſolved at ' the laſt, that I ſhould ſubſcribe ' your Name, and put to your ' Seal, and you would allow of ' the ſame. All which, quoth ' the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, under ' Correction, my Lord, is un- ' true. Well, quoth the King, ' we will not ſtand in Argument ' with you, you are but one: ' And ſo the King aroſe up, ' and the Court was adjourned ' until the next Day, at which ' Time the Cardinals ſat again, ' and the Counſel on both Sides ' were there preſent to anſwer.

' The King's Counſel alledged ' the Matrimony not good nor ' lawful at the Beginning: Be- ' cauſe of the carnal Copulation ' that Prince *Arthur* had with ' the Queen: This Matter was ' very narrowly ſcanned on that ' Side, and to prove the carnal ' Copulation, they had many ' Reaſons and Similitudes of ' Truth; and being anſwered ' negatively again on the other ' Side, it ſeemed that all their ' former Allegations were doubt- ' ful to be tried, and that no ' Man knew. Yes, quoth the ' Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, I know ' the Truth. How can you ' know the Truth, quoth the ' Cardinal, more than any other ' Perſon? Yes, forſooth, my ' Lords, quoth he, I know that ' God is the Truth itſelf, and ' never ſaith but Truth, and he ' ſaith thus, *Quos Deos conjunxit,* ' *Homo non ſeparet:* And foraſ- ' much as this Marriage was ' joined and made by God to a ' good Intent, therefore I ſaid ' I knew the Truth, and that ' Man cannot break upon any ' wilful Action that which God ' hath made and conſtituted. ' So much do all faithful Men ' know, quoth my Lord Cardi- ' nal, as well as you, therefore ' this Reaſon is not ſufficient in ' this

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" had now recovered the Freedom of a crowned " Head; or, as others have inferred from the Event, " that, being now at full Liberty, he ſhould not think " himſelf bound to perform a Treaty, which he only " ſubmitted to through Conſtraint."

We may here ſee, that even great Men, when under Misfortunes, tho' they have enjoyed the utmoſt Grandeur of the World, find it very difficult to maintain that portly Dignity becoming them.

No ſooner was the *French* King returned into his Domi-



' this Caſe; for the King's Counſel do alledge many Preſumptions to prove that it was not lawful at the Beginning, *Ergo*, ' it was not ordained by God; ' for God doth nothing without ' a good End. Therefore it is ' not to be doubted, but if the ' Preſumptions be true, which ' they alledge to be moſt true, ' then the Conjunction neither ' was nor could be of God. ' Therefore, I ſay unto you, my ' Lord of *Rocheſter*, you know ' not the Truth, unleſs you can ' avoid their Preſumptions upon ' juſt Reaſons.

' Then, quoth Dr. *Ridley*, It ' is a great Shame and Diſhonour to this honourable Preſence, that ſuch Preſumptions ' ſhould be alledged in this open ' Court. What! quoth my Lord ' Cardinal, *Domine Doctor Reverende*. No, my Lord, there ' belongs no Reverence to this ' Matter, for an unreverent Matter may be unreverently anſwered, and ſo left off; and ' then they proceeded to other ' Matters. Thus paſſed this ' Court from Seſſion to Seſſion, ' and Day to Day, till a certain ' Day the King ſent for the Cardinal to *Bridewell*, who went ' into the Privy-chamber to him, ' where he was about an Hour, ' and then departed from the ' King and went to *Weſtminſter* ' in his Barge, the Biſhop of ' *Carliſle* being with him ſaid, ' It is a hot Day To-day: Yea, ' quoth the Cardinal, if you had ' been as well chafed as I have ' been within this Hour, you ' would ſay you were very hot. ' My Lord no ſooner came ' home but he went to Bed, ' where he had not lain above ' two Hours, but my Lord of ' *Wiltſhire*, Miſtreſs *Anne Bulloigne*'s Father, came to ſpeak ' with him from the King: My ' Lord commanded he ſhould be ' brought to his Bed-ſide, who ' told him it was the King's ' Mind he ſhould forthwith go ' with the Cardinal to the Queen, ' being then at *Bridewell* in her ' Chamber, and to perſuade her ' through their Wiſdoms to put ' the whole Matter into the ' King's own Hands, by her ' Conſent, which ſhould be much ' better

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Dominions, but the King of *England* ſent Sir *Thomas Chency* and Dr. *Taylor*, to congratulate him upon the Occaſion, and to ſee whether he was ready to ratify the Treaties made with the Lady Regent during his Captivity.

*Francis* received theſe Ambaſſadors with great Reſpect, readily ratified the Treaties, acknowledged the great Obligations he was under to the King of *England*, for his Aſſiſtance in gaining his Liberty, and ſent his Majeſty a ſolemn Ambaſſy, in order to lay before

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'better for her Honour, than 'ſtand to the Tryal at Law, and 'thereby be condemned, which 'would tend much to her Diſ-'honour and Diſcredit.

'To perform the King's Plea-'ſure, my Lord ſaid he was 'ready, and ſo prepared to go. 'But, quoth he further to my 'Lord of *Wiltſhire*, you and 'others of the Council have 'put Fancies into the Head of 'the King, whereby you trou-'ble all the Realm; but at the 'length you will get but ſmall 'Thanks both of God and the 'World, * with many other ear-'neſt Words and Reaſons, which 'did cauſe my Lord of *Wiltſhire* 'to be ſilent kneeling by my 'Lord's Bed-ſide, and in Con-'cluſion departed.

'And then my Lord roſe and 'took his Barge and went to '*Bath-houſe* to Cardinal *Cam-'paine's*, and ſo went together 'to *Bridewell* to the Queen's 'Lodgings; ſhe being then in 'her Chamber of Preſence, they 'told the Gentleman-uſher that 'they came to ſpeak with the 'Queen's Grace, who told the 'Queen the Cardinals were 'come to ſpeak with her; then 'ſhe aroſe up having a Skain 'of red Silk about her Neck, (be-'ing at work with her Maids) 'and came to the Cardinals, 'where they ſtaid attending her 'Coming; at whoſe Approach, 'quoth ſhe, Alack, my Lords, 'I am ſorry that you have at-'tended on me ſo long, what is 'your Pleaſures with me? If it 'pleaſe your Grace, quoth the 'Cardinal, to go to your Privy-'Chamber, we will ſhew you 'the Cauſe of our Coming.

'My Lord, ſaid ſhe, if you 'have any thing to ſay to me, 'ſpeak it openly before all theſe 'Folk, for I fear nothing that 'you can ſay to me or againſt 'me, but that I am willing all 'the World ſhould both ſee and 'hear it, and therefore ſpeak 'your Minds openly.

'Then began my Lord to 'ſpeak to her in *Latin*. Nay, 'good my Lord, ſpeak to me 'in

* This ſhews plain, that the Cardinal was not ſuch a Time-ſerving Perſon as ſome would repreſent, who had the Spirit to anſwer *Anne Bulleyn*'s Father in this open and candid Manner.

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before him the Articles of the Treaty he had concluded with the Emperor.

*Francis* alſo, by a Letter to Cardinal *Wolſey*, wrote with his own Hand, acknowledged, that the King and his Eminency had been the chief Inſtruments of procuring his Enlargement.

Cardinal *Wolſey*, upon this Occaſion, diſcovered his uſual Addreſs and Fineſſe of Policy, in the Inſtructions drawn up for theſe Ambaſſadors; in which they were directed to repreſent to *Francis* the amicable Interview



'in *Engliſh*, quoth ſhe, although 'I do underſtand ſome *Latin*: 'Forſooth, quoth my Lord, good 'Madam, if it pleaſe your Grace, 'we come both to know your 'Mind what you are diſpoſed 'to do in this Matter, and alſo 'to declare to you ſecretly our 'Counſels and Opinions, which 'we do for very Zeal and Obe-'dience to your Grace.

'My Lords, quoth ſhe, I 'thank you for your Good-wills, 'but to make anſwer to your 'Requeſts, I cannot ſo ſuddenly; 'for I was ſet amongſt my 'Maids at work, little thinking 'of any ſuch Matter, wherein 'is requiſite ſome Deliberation, 'and a better Head than mine 'to make Anſwer; for I need 'Counſel in this Caſe, which 'concerns me ſo near; and 'Friends here I have none; they 'are in *Spain*, in my own Coun-'try: Alſo, my Lords, I am 'a poor Woman of too weak 'Capacity, to anſwer ſuch noble 'Perſons of Wiſdom as you are, 'in ſo weighty a Matter. And 'therefore be good to me, a 'Woman deſtitute of Friend-'ſhip here, in a foreign Region; 'and your Counſel alſo I ſhould 'be glad to hear, and therewith 'ſhe took my Lord by the Hand, 'and led him into her Privy-'Chamber, with the other Car-'dinal, where they ſtaid a-'while, and I heard her Voice 'loud, but what ſhe ſaid I know 'not.

'This done, they went to the 'King, and made a Relation 'unto him of the Paſſages be-'tween the Queen and them, 'and ſo they departed.

'This ſtrange Caſe proceeded, 'and went forwards from Court-'day to Court-day, until it came 'to that, that every Man ex-'pected to hear Judgment given, 'at which Time all their Pro-'ceedings were openly read in '*Latin*. That done, the King's 'Counſel at the Bar moved for 'Judgment: Quoth Cardinal '*Campaine*, I will not give Judg-'ment until I have related the 'whole Proceedings to the Pope, 'whoſe Counſel and Command-'ment I will in this Caſe ob-'ſerve: The Matter is too high 'for us to give haſty Judgment,

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amicable Interview that had been between the two Kings in the Year 1520; and to acquaint his Majeſty, "That "the intimate Friendſhip then contracted had made ſo "deep and laſting an Impreſſion in the Mind of the "King, their Maſter, that the Accidents which had "ſince intervened had not defaced: That the King "often reflected with much Pleaſure on thoſe friendly "Offices, which had at that Time paſſed between them: "That he could not be ſatisfied, after his Return into his "Dominions, until he had ſent to him: That the Con-"finement he had been under had indeed rendered a Vi-"ſit

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'conſidering the Perſons and the 'doubtful Occaſions alledged, 'and alſo whoſe Commiſſioners 'we are, by whoſe Authority 'we ſit.

'It is good Reaſon, therefore, 'that we make our chief Lord our 'Counſel in the ſame, before we 'proceed to Judgment definitive. 'I came not to pleaſe for any 'Favour, Reward, or Fear of 'any Perſon alive, be he King 'or otherwiſe; I have no ſuch 'Reſpect to the Perſon, that I 'ſhould offend my Conſcience; 'and the Party Defendant will 'make no Anſwer here, but ra-'ther doth appeal from us. I 'am an old Man, both weak 'and ſickly, and look every 'Day for Death. What ſhall 'it avail me to put my Soul 'in Danger of God's Diſplea-'ſure to my utter Damnation, 'for the Favour of any Prince 'in this World? My being 'here is only to ſee Juſtice ad-'miniſtered according to my 'Conſcience.

'The Defendant ſuppoſeth 'that we be not indifferent 'Judges, conſidering the King's 'high Dignity and Authority 'within his Realm; and, we be-'ing both his Subjects, ſhe thinks 'we will not do her Juſtice: 'And therefore, to avoid all theſe 'Ambiguities, I adjourn the 'Court for the Time, according 'to the Court of *Rome*, from 'whence our Juriſdiction is de-'rived: For, if we ſhould go 'further than our Commiſſion 'doth warrant us, it were but a 'Folly and blame-worthy; be-'cauſe then we ſhall be Breakers 'of the Orders from whom we 'have (as I ſaid) our Authority 'derived. And ſo the Court was 'diſſolved and no more done.

'Thereupon, by the King's 'Commandment, ſtept up the 'Duke of *Suffolk*, and with a 'haughty Countenance uttered 'theſe Words:

'*It was never thus in* Eng-'land *until we had Cardinals* '*amongſt us.* Which Words 'were ſet forth with ſuch Vehe-'mency, that all Men marvel-'led what he intended, the Duke 'further expreſſing ſome oppro-'brious Words.

'My Lord Cardinal perceiv-'ing



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" fit unpracticable; but, as he had for a long Time " borne a ſenſible Part in his Misfortune, ſo now he re- " joiced with him on the Occaſion of his Delivery." The Ambaſſador had further in Charge to make an Offer, in the King's Name, of any Service that might either be for his Advantage, Pleaſure, or Honour.

Theſe Ambaſſadors, whilſt they were in *France*, received further Inſtructions, drawn up by the Cardinal, concerning a League between *England* and that Court, and were directed to repreſent to *Francis*, " That the " Kindneſs he had been pleaſed to expreſs for the King



' ling his Vehemency, ſoberly ' ſaid: Sir, of all Men in this ' Realm you have leaſt Cauſe ' to diſpraiſe Cardinals; for if I ' poor Cardinal had not been, ' you ſhould not at this preſent ' have had a Head upon your ' Shoulders, wherewith to make ' ſuch a Brag in Diſpute of us, ' who wiſh you no Harm; neither ' have given you ſuch Cauſe to ' be offended with us. I would ' have you think, my Lord, I ' and my Brother wiſh the King ' as much Happineſs, and the ' Realm as much Honour, Wealth ' and Peace, as you, or any other ' Subject of what Degree ſoever ' he be within this Realm, and ' would as gladly accompliſh his ' lawful Deſires.

' And now, my Lord, I pray ' you ſhew me what you would ' do in ſuch a Caſe as this, if ' you were one of the King's ' Commiſſioners in a foreign Re- ' gion about ſome weighty Mat- ' ter, the Conſultation whereof ' was very doubtful to be decided? ' Would you not adverſtiſe the ' King's Majeſty ere you went ' thro' with the ſame? I doubt ' not but you would; and there- ' fore abate your Malice and ' Spite, and conſider we are ' Commiſſioners for a Time, and ' cannot by Virtue of a Com- ' miſſion proceed to Judgment, ' without the Knowledge and ' Conſent of the Head of the ' Authority, and Licence obtain- ' ed from him, who is the Pope.

' Therefore do we neither ' more nor leſs than our Com- ' miſſion allows us: And if any ' Man will be offended with us, ' he is an unwiſe Man: There- ' fore pacify yourſelf, my Lord, ' and ſpeak like a Man of Ho- ' nour and Wiſdom, or hold your ' Peace. Speak not reproach- ' fully of your Friends, you beſt ' know what Friendſhip I have ' ſhewn you: I never did reveal ' to any Perſon till now, either ' to mine own Praiſe or your ' Diſhonour. Whereupon the ' Duke went his Way, and ' ſaid no more, being much diſ- ' contented.

' This Matter continued thus ' a long Seaſon, and the King ' was in Diſpleaſure againſt my ' Lord Cardinal, becauſe his Suit

' had

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" King and himself should not fail of meeting with " a suitable Return: That no Person had his Ho- " nour, or his Interest more at Heart, than the " King, who would omit nothing that should be for " the Advancement of them, and as a sincere Friend, " united in the strictest Bonds that Amity could pro- " duce: That he would concur in every Thing that " was for their mutual Interest; and that, for his " Part, he would apply himself with all Assiduity " imaginable to cultivate the Friendship and good " Correspondence between them."

Then he proceeds to acquaint the Ambassadors with the



' had no better Success to his ' Purpose.

' Notwithstanding the Cardi- ' nal excused himself by his Com- ' mission, which gave him no Au- ' thority to proceed to Judgment ' without the Knowledge of ' the Pope, who reserved the ' same to himself. At last they ' were advertised by a Post, that ' they should take Deliberation ' in the Matter until his Coun- ' sel were opened, which should ' not be till *Bartholomew-tide* next.

' The King, thinking it would ' be too long ere it would be ' determined, sent an Ambassa- ' dor to the Pope, to persuade ' him to shew so much Favour ' to his Majesty, as that it might ' be sooner determined.

' On this Ambassage went Dr. ' *Stephen Gardiner*, then called ' by the Name of Dr. *Steven*, ' Secretary to the King, after- ' wards Bishop of *Winchester*. ' This Ambassador staid there ' till the latter End of Summer, ' of whose Return you shall here- ' after hear.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Of certain Passages conducing to the Cardinal's Fall.*

' NOW the King command- ' ed the Queen to be re- ' moved from the Court, and sent ' to another Place, and presently ' after the King rode on Progress, ' and had in his Company Mrs. ' *Anne Bullogne*, in which Time ' Cardinal *Campaine* made suit to ' be discharged, and sent Home ' to *Rome*: And in the Interim ' returned Mr. *Secretary*; and it ' was concluded, that my Lord ' should come to the King to ' *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*; as ' also Cardinal *Campaine*, being ' a Stranger, should be conducted ' thither by my Lord Cardinal. ' And so the next *Sunday* there ' were divers Opinions, that the ' King would not speak with ' my Lord; whereupon there ' were many great Wagers laid.

' The two Prelates being come ' to the Court, and alighting



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the Overtures that had been made at our Court, in the Preſence of the *French* Ambaſſador, concerning a reciprocal Obligation to be entered into between the two Powers; and that what he had propoſed had been well received both by the Ambaſſadors and the King's Commiſſioners, appointed to treat with them.

By theſe Inſtructions our Ambaſſadors carried on the mutual Reconciliation at the Court of *France*, while thoſe of *Francis* were purſuing the ſame here; inſomuch that both Princes neglected no Opportunity of ſhewing the utmoſt Friendſhip for each other:

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

'expected to be received of the 'great Officers, as the Manner 'was, but they found the con-'trary: Nevertheleſs, becauſe the 'Cardinal *Campaine* was a Stran-'ger, the Officers met him with 'Staves in their Hands in the out-'ward Court, and ſo conveyed him 'to his Lodging prepared for him; 'and after my Lord had brought 'him to his Lodging he departed, 'thinking to have gone to his 'Chamber, as he was wont to do. 'But it was told him, he had no 'Lodging or Chamber appoint-'ed for him in the Court, which 'News did much aſtoniſh him.

'Sir *Henry Norris*, who was 'then Groom of the Stole, came 'unto him, and deſired him to 'take his Chamber for a while, 'until another was provided for 'him; For I aſſure you, quoth 'he, here is but little Room in 'this Houſe for the King, and 'therefore, I humbly beſeech 'your Grace, accept of mine for 'a Seaſon. My Lord, thanking 'him for his Courteſy, went 'to his Chamber, where he 'ſhifted his riding Apparel.

'In the mean time came di-'vers Noblemen of his Friends, 'to welcome him to the Court, 'by whom my Lord was adver-'tiſed of all Things touching 'the King's Favour or Diſ-'pleaſure; and, being thus in-'formed of the Cauſe thereof, 'he was more able to excuſe 'himſelf.

'So my Lord made him rea-'dy, and went to the Chamber 'of Preſence with the other Car-'dinal, where the Lords of the 'Council ſtood all of a Row in 'order in the Chamber, and all 'the Lords ſaluted them both: 'And there were preſent many 'Gentlemen, which came on 'Purpoſe to obſerve the Meet-'ing and Countenance of the 'King to my Lord Cardinal: 'Then immediately after the 'King came into the Chamber 'of Preſence, ſtanding under the 'Cloth of State.

'Then my Lord Cardinal took 'Cardinal *Campaine* by the Hand, 'and kneeled down before the 'K. but, what he ſaid unto him, 'I know not, but his Counte-'nance was amiable, and his 'Majeſty ſtooped down, and 'with

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other: And this favourable Change has been attributed to the refined Policy and good Conduct of Cardinal *Wolsey*. In short, these Negotiations terminated in a new Treaty concluded between the Kings of *England* and *France*, which was settled by Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, with the *French* Ambassadors; wherein the two Monarchs agreed, "Not to make any Peace with the Emperor, before he restored to *Francis* the Ist his two Sons, who were still detained in *Spain* as Hostages, for the Performance of the Treaty of *Madrid*."

Both

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

'with both his Hands took him 'up, and then took him by the 'Hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

'Then to have beheld the 'Countenance of the Lords and 'Noblemen that had laid Wagers, it would have made you 'smile, especially those that had 'laid their Money, that the 'King would not speak with 'him.

'Thus were they deceived, 'for the King was in earnest 'Discourse with him, insomuch 'that I heard the King say, How 'can this be? Is not this your 'Hand? and pulled a Letter out of 'his own Bosom, and shewed the 'same to my Lord. And, as I 'perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King 'had no more to say; but said 'to my Lord Cardinal, Go to 'your Dinner, and take my 'Lord Cardinal to keep you 'Company, and after Dinner 'I will speak further with you; 'and so they departed. And 'the King that Day dined with 'Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne* in her 'Chamber.

'Then was there set up in the 'Presence-chamber a Table for 'my Lord, and other Lords of 'the Council, where they dined 'together; and sitting at Dinner, telling of divers Matters, 'The King should do well, quoth 'my Lord Cardinal, to send his 'Bishops and Chaplains home to 'their Cures and Benefices.—Yea, 'marry, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, and so it were meet for 'you to do also.—I would be 'very well contented therewith, 'quoth my Lord, if it were 'the King's Pleasure to licence 'me with his Grace's Leave to go 'to my Cure at *Winchester*:—'Nay, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, to your Benefice at *York*; 'where your greatest Honour 'and Charge is.—Even as it 'shall please the King, quoth 'my Lord Cardinal; and so they 'fell upon other Discourses. For 'indeed the Nobility were loth 'he should be so near the King, 'as to continue at *Winchester*. 'Immediately after Dinner they 'fell to counsel till the Waiters 'had also dined.

'I heard it reported by those

'that

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Both the Pope and the *Venetians* were soon informed, that King *Francis* would refuse to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*, and that he would be glad to enter into a League, in order to protect himself against the Emperor, whom, they knew, would naturally resent *Francis*'s refusing to fulfil the Treaty. This induced these Powers, with the Duke of *Milan*, to send Ambassadors to the *French* Court, which was then kept at *Cognac*, who were soon introduced to an Audience of his most Christian Majesty, to whom they imparted the Sentiments of their Masters, with regard



'that waited on the King at 'Dinner, that Mrs. *Anne Bul-* 'loigne was offended as much as 'she durst, that the King did so 'graciously entertain my Lord 'Cardinal, saying, *Sir, Is it not* 'a marvellous Thing to see into 'what great Debt and Danger he 'hath brought you, with all your 'Subjects? How so? quoth the 'King. *Forsooth*, quoth she, *there* 'is not a Man in all your whole 'Realm of England worth a 'hundred Pounds, but he hath in-'debted you to him (meaning the 'Loan, which the King had of 'his Subjects.) Well, well, *quoth* 'the King, for that Matter there 'was no Blame in him, for I 'know that Matter better than 'you, or any else.

'*Nay*, quoth she, *besides that*, 'what Exploits hath he wrought 'in several Parts and Places of 'this Realm, to your great Slan-'der and Disgrace? There is ne-'ver a Nobleman, but, if he had 'done half so much as he hath 'done, were well worthy to lose 'his Head. Yea, if my Lord of 'Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, 'my Father, or any other Man, 'had done much less than he hath 'done, they should have lost their 'Heads ere this.

'Then I perceive (*quoth the* 'King) you are none of my 'Lord Cardinal's Friends. *Why* 'Sir, quoth she, *I have no Cause*, 'nor any that love you; no more 'hath your Grace, if you did well 'consider his indirect and unlaw-'ful Doings.

'By that Time the Waiters 'had dined, and took up the 'Table; and so for that Time 'ended their Communication.

'You may perceive by this, 'how the old Malice was not 'forgotten, but begins to kindle 'and be set on fire, which was 'stirred by his antient Enemies, 'whom I have formerly named 'in this Treatise.

'The King, for that Time, 'departed from Mrs. *Anne Bul-* 'loigne, and came to the Chamber 'of Presence, and called for my 'Lord, and in the great Window 'had a long Discourse with him, 'but of what I know not. Af-'terwards the King took him 'by the Hand, and led him into 'the Privy Chamber, and sat

'in

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gard to their Readineſs to enter into a Treaty, which might put a Stop to the Emperor's growing Greatneſs in *Italy*.

*The Pope, &c. enter into a Treaty with Francis.*

These Ambaſſadors were received by the King with great Civility, and entered into a Treaty with them againſt the Emperor on the 17th of *May*; which was calculated chiefly to drive the *Germans* out of *Italy*; But, for Reaſons of State, they agreed to conceal, for the preſent, what was chiefly purpoſed from that Treaty. However, this Conjunction was not ſo pri-

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

'in Conſultation with him all 'alone, without any other of the 'Lords, till it was dark Night, 'which blanked all his Enemies 'very ſore, who had no other 'Way but by Mrs. *Anne Bul-'laigne*, in whom was all their 'Truſt and Affiance, for the Ac-'compliſhment of their Enter-'prizes; for without her they 'feared all their Purpoſes would 'be fruſtate.

'Now at Night was Warning 'given me, that there was no 'Room for my Lord to lodge in 'the Court; ſo that I was forced 'to provide my Lord a Lodging 'in the Country about *Eaſton*, 'at one Mr. *Empſton*'s Houſe, 'where my Lord came to Supper 'by Torch-light, being late be-'fore my Lord parted from the 'King, who willed him to re-'ſort to him in the Morning, 'for that he would talk further 'with him about the ſame Mat-'ter. And in the Morning my 'Lord came again, at whoſe 'Coming the King's Majeſty 'was ready to ride, willing my 'Lord to conſult with the Lords 'in his Abſence, and ſaid he 'would not talk with him, com-'manding my Lord to depart 'with Cardinal *Campaine*, who 'had already taken his Leave of 'the King.

'This ſudden Departure of 'of the King's was the eſpecial 'Labour of Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne*, 'who rode with him purpoſely 'to draw him away, becauſe he 'ſhould not return till the De-'parture of the Cardinals. The 'King rode that Morning to 'view a Piece of Ground to 'make a Park of, which was 'afterwards, and is at this Day, 'called *Hardwyk-park*, where 'Mrs. *Anne* had provided him a 'Place to dine in, fearing his 'Return before my Lord Cardi-'nal's Departure.

'So my Lord rode away after 'Dinner with Cardinal *Cam-'paine*, who took his Journey 'towards *Rome*, with the King's 'Reward; but what it was I am 'not certain.

'After their Departure, it was 'told the King, that Cardinal '*Campaine* was departed, and 'had great Treaſure with him 'of my Lord Cardinal's of *Eng-*

*land*,

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privately carried on, but the Vice-roy of *Naples* got Intelligence of it, which put him upon peremptorily ſummoning King *Francis*, for the laſt Time, to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*. *Francis*, in Anſwer, told him plainly, "It was not in his Power; but that ſtill, to "ſhew he deſired to live in Friendſhip with the Em- "peror, he had ſent Ambaſſadors to that Prince, who "were inſtructed to offer him two Millions of Crowns "of Gold as an Equivalent for *Burgundy*, and punc- "tually to perform the reſt of the Treaty."

The *French* Ambaſſadors at length arrived at the Empe-



'*land*, to be conveyed in great 'Sums to *Rome*, whither they 'ſurmiſed he would ſecretly re- 'pair out of this Realm; inſo- 'much, that they cauſed a Poſt 'to ride after the Cardinal to 'ſearch him, who overtook him 'at *Calais*, and ſtaid him until 'Search was made, but there 'was found no more than was 'received of the King for a Re- 'ward.

'Now after Cardinal *Campaine* 'was gone, *Michaelmas* Term 'drew on, againſt which Time my 'Lord Cardinal repaired to his 'Houſe at *Weſtminſter*, and, when 'the Term began, he went into 'the Hall in ſuch Manner as he 'was accuſtomed to do, and ſat 'in the Chancery, being then 'Lord Chancellor of *England*; 'after which Day he never ſat 'more: The next Day he ſtaid 'at Home for the Coming of 'the Lords of *Norfolk* and *Suf- 'folk*, who came not that Day, 'but the next; and did declare 'unto my Lord, that it was the 'King's Pleaſure he ſhould ſur- 'render up the Great Seal of '*England* into their Hands, and 'that he ſhould depart unto '*Aſhur*,* which is a Houſe near 'unto *Hampton-court* belonging 'unto the Biſhoprick of *Win- 'cheſter*.

* Now *Eſher*.

'The Cardinal demanded of 'them to ſee their Commiſſion, 'that gave them ſuch Autho- 'rity; who anſwered again, '*They were ſufficient Commiſſion- 'ers, and had Authority to do no 'leſs from the King's own Mouth:* 'Notwithſtanding he would in 'no wiſe agree to their Demand 'in that Behalf, without further 'Knowledge of their Authority, 'telling them, *That the Great 'Seal was delivered to him by 'the King's own Perſon to enjoy 'the Miniſtration thereof, together 'with the Chancellorſhip, during 'the Term of his Life, whereof, 'for Surety, he had the King's 'Letters Patent to ſhew*; which 'Matter was much debated be- 'tween him and the Dukes, 'with many great Words, which 'he took patiently; inſomuch, 'that the Dukes were fain to 'depart without their Purpoſe 'at that Time, and returned to '*Windſor* to the King. And 'the

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Emperor's Court, which was then kept at *Granada*, and were quickly introduced to his Imperial Majesty; to whom, in a short Speech, they declared, "That it "was not in the Power of the King, their Master, "to perform the Article that related to the Deli- "vering up *Burgundy:*" And desired, "That he "would be graciously pleased to release the King's "two Sons, upon a proper Equivalent in Money, or "their Master must have recourse to such Means as God had put into his Hands."

The

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

'the next Day they returned to 'my Lord with the King's Let- 'ters, whereupon, in Obedience 'to the King's Command, my 'Lord delivered to them the 'Broad Seal, which they brought 'to *Windsor* to the King.

'Then my Lord called his Offi- 'cers before him, and took ac- 'count of all Things they had in 'their Charge, and in his Galle- 'ry were set divers Tables, upon 'which were laid divers and 'great Store of rich Stuffs, as 'whole Pieces of Silk of all Co- 'lours, Velvets, Sattins, Musks, 'Taffeties, Grograms, Scarlets, 'and divers rich Commodities. 'As also there were 1000 Pieces 'of fine Hollands, and the Hang- 'ings of the Gallery were Cloth 'of Gold, and Cloth of Silver, 'and rich Cloth of Bodkin of 'divers Colours, which were 'hanged in Expectation of the 'King's Coming.

'Also of one Side of the Gal- 'lery were hanged rich Suits of 'Copes of his own providing, 'which were made for the Col- 'leges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*; 'they were the richest that ever



'I saw in all my Life: Then had 'he two Chambers adjoining to 'the Gallery, the one most com- 'monly called the Gilt-chamber, 'the other the Council-chamber, 'wherein were set two broad and 'long Tables, whereupon was set 'such abundance of Plate of all 'Sorts, as was almost incredible 'to be believed, a great Part 'being all of clean Gold, and 'upon every Table and Cup- 'board, where the Plate was set, 'were Books importing every 'Kind of Plate, and every Piece 'with the Contents and the 'Weight thereof.

'Thus were all Things fur- 'nished and prepared, giving 'the Charge of the said Stuff, 'with other Things remaining 'in every Office, to be delivered 'to the King as he gave Charge. 'All Things being ordered as is 'before rehearsed, my Lord pre- 'pared to depart, and resolved 'to go by Water; but, before his 'going, Sir *William Gascoigne*, 'being his Treasurer, came 'unto him, and said, Sir, '*I am sorry for your Grace, 'for I hear you are strait to go*



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The Ambaſſadors from the Pope and the *Venetians* the ſame Day, in an Audience with the Emperor, preſſed him to withdraw his Troops, to reſtore the Duke of *Milan* to his Dutchy, and to pay the King of *England* what was due to him out of *Lombardy*; or, they inſinuated, Meaſures would ſoon be taken to force his Compliance.

The Emperor was nothing daunted at theſe extraordinary Demands, and anſwered the *French* Ambaſſadors firſt, " That it was not in the Power of " that



' *to the* Tower. *Is this the beſt* ' *Comfort*, quoth my Lord, *you* ' *can give to your Maſter in Ad-* ' *verſity? It hath always been* ' *your Inclination to be light of* ' *Credit, and much lighter in* ' *reporting of Lies. I would you* ' *ſhould know, Sir* William, *and* ' *all thoſe Reporters too, that it* ' *is untrue, for I never deſerved* ' *to come there: Although it hath* ' *pleaſed the King to take my* ' *Houſe ready furniſhed for his* ' *Pleaſure, at this Time I would* ' *all the World ſhould know, I* ' *have nothing but it is of Right* ' *for him, and of him I received* ' *all that I have: It is therefore* ' *convenient and reaſon to render* ' *the ſame to him again.*

' Then my Lord, with his ' Train of Gentlemen and Yeo- ' men, which was no ſmall Com- ' pany, took his Barge at his ' private Stairs, and went by ' Water to *Putney*, at which Time ' upon the Water were Abun- ' dance of Boats filled with Peo- ' ple, expecting to have ſeen ' my Lord Cardinal go to the ' *Tower*, which they longed to ' ſee. Oh wondring and new- ' fangled World! Is it not a ' Time to conſider the Mutabi- ' lity of this uncertain World! ' for the common People ever de- ' ſire Things for Novelty's Sake, ' which after turn to their ſmall ' Profit and Advantage: For, if ' you mark the Sequel, they had ' ſmall Cauſe to rejoice at his ' Fall, I cannot ſee but all ' Men in Favour are envied ' by the common People, tho' ' they do miniſter Juſtice truly.

' Thus continued my Lord at ' *Aſhur* three or four Weeks, ' without either Beds, Sheets, ' Table-cloths, or Diſhes to eat ' their Meat in, or wherewith ' to buy any. But there was ' good Store of all Kind of ' Victuals, and of Beer and Wine ' plenty; but afterwards my ' Lord borrowed ſome Plates and ' Diſhes of the Biſhop of *Car-* ' *liſle*.

' Thus continued my Lord in ' this ſtrange Eſtate till after *Al-* ' *hollantide*, and, being one Day ' at Dinner, Mr. *Cromwell* told ' him, That he ought in Con- ' ſcience to conſider the true and ' good Service, that he and ' other

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" that Nation to hinder their King from performing " the Treaty of *Madrid*, since it had been consented " to by them:" And to the other Ambassadors, he said, " That the Duke of *Milan* was his Subject, and " he ought to be punished as a Rebel, for what he " had before transacted; that his Forces were too " well posted to be soon removed; that he in- " tended shortly to proceed into *Italy*; and that, if " they all made War on him, he should be able to " defend himself with the Assistance of his good " Sub-

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

' other of his Servants had done, ' who never forsook him in Weal ' and Woe. Then quoth my Lord, ' *Alas*, Tom! *you know I have* ' *nothing to give you nor them;* ' *which makes me both ashamed* ' *and sorry, that I have nothing* ' *to requite your faithful Servi-* ' *ces.* Whereupon Mr. *Cromwell* ' told my Lord, That he had ' abundance of Chaplains, that ' were preferred by his Grace to ' Benefices of some 1000 *l.* and ' others 500 *l.* some more and ' some less; and we your poor ' Servants, who take more Pains ' in one Day's Service, than all ' your idle Chaplains have done ' in a Year; and therefore, if they ' will not impart liberally to you ' in your great Indigence, it is ' pity they should live, and all ' the World will have them in In- ' dignation, for their great Ingra- ' titude to their Master.

' Afterwards my Lord com- ' manded me to call all his Gen- ' tleman and Yeomen up into ' the great Chamber, and order- ' ing all the Gentlemen to stand ' on the right Hand, and the ' Yeomen on the left Side; at ' last my Lord came out in his ' Rochet, upon a Violet Gown, ' like a Bishop, who went with ' his Chaplains to the upper End ' of the Chamber, where was a ' great Window, beholding his ' goodly Number of Servants, ' who could not speak to them ' until the Tears ran down his ' Cheeks, which, being perceived ' of his Servants, caused Foun- ' tains of Tears to gush out of ' their sorrowful Eyes, in such ' Sort as would cause my Heart ' to relent.

' At last my Lord spake to them ' to this Effect and Purpose, say- ' ing, *Most faithful Gentlemen and* ' *true-hearted Yeomen, I much* ' *lament, that in my Prosperity* ' *I did not so much for you as I* ' *might have done, and was in* ' *my Power to do. I considered,* ' *that if in my Prosperity I should* ' *have preferred you to the King,* ' *then should I have incurred* ' *the King's Servants Displeasure,* ' *who would not spare to report* ' *behind my Back, that there* ' *could no Office in the Court* ' *escape the Cardinal and his* ' *Servants, and by that Means*



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" Subjects. As to the King of *England*'s Demands, " he ſaid, he would pay him with the King of " *France*'s Money."

The Emperor's Anſwer was no ſooner known, but the *French* King wrote Letters to all the other Princes of *Chriſtendom*, wherein he attempted to juſtify his Conduct in reſpect to his not performing the Treaty of *Madrid*; and the Subſtance of his Apology was, " Charging the Emperor with breaking the Treaty of " *Noyon*, invading the Dutchy of *Milan*, refuſing the " Acknow-



' *I ſhould have run into open Slander of all the World: But now it is come to paſs, That it hath pleaſed the King to take all that I have into his Hands, ſo that I have now nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me but the bare Cloaths on my Back*; with many other Words in their Praiſe; and ſo he, giving them all hearty Thanks, went away; and afterwards many of his Servants departed from him, ſome to their Wives, ſome to their Friends, Maſter *Cromwell* to *London*, it being then the Beginning of the Parliament.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The Cardinal is accuſed of High-treaſon in the Parliament-houſe, againſt which Accuſation Mr.* Cromwell, *(late Servant to him) being a Burgeſs in the Parliament, made Defence.*

THE aforeſaid Maſter *Cromwell*, after his Departure from my Lord, deviſed with himſelf to be one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament; and, being at *London*, he chanced to meet one Sir *Thomas Ruſſel*, Knt. a ſpecial Friend of his, whoſe Son was one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament, of whom by Means he obtained his Room, and ſo put his Feet into the Parliament-houſe; and three Days after his Departure from my Lord he came again to *Aſhur*, and, I being there with my Lord, he ſaid unto me with a pleaſant Countenance: *I have adventured my Feet where I will be better regarded, e're the Parliament be diſſolved:* And, after he had ſome Talk with my Lord, he made haſte to *London*, becauſe he would not be abſent from the Parliament, to the Intent he might acquaint my Lord, what was there objected againſt him, thereby the better to make his Defence; inſomuch that there was nothing at any Time objected againſt

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" Acknowledgment due to the Crown of *France* for " the Earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, drawing the " Duke of *Bourbon* into Rebellion, and invading " *Provence*, which were the Reaſons for his marching " into *Lombardy*, where he was taken and carried " Priſoner into *Spain*; and there, being threatned with " perpetual Confinement, was forced, in order to " gain his Liberty, to accept of ſuch unjuſt Condi- " tions as the Emperor was pleaſed to impoſe on " him, which he could not be bound to obſerve, " having

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' againſt my Lord, but he was ' ready to make Anſwer there- ' unto, by Means whereof he, ' being earneſt in his Maſter's ' Behalf, was reputed the moſt ' faithful Servant to his Maſter ' of all other, and was gene- ' rally of all Men highly com- ' mended.

' Then was there brought ' a Bill of Articles into the ' Parliament-houſe to have my ' Lord condemned of High-trea- ' ſon, againſt which Bill Maſter ' *Cromwell* did inveigh ſo diſ- ' creetly, and with ſuch witty ' Perſuaſion, that the ſame would ' take no Effect: Then were his ' Enemies conſtrained to indict ' him of a Premunire, and all ' was to intitle the King to all his ' Goods and Poſſeſſions, which ' he had obtained and purchaſed ' for the Maintenance of his ' Colleges of *Oxford* and *Ipſ-* ' *wich*, which were both moſt ' ſumptuous Buildings. To the ' Judges that were ſent to take ' my Lord's Anſwer herein, he ' thus anſwered,

' *My Lords Judges, the King* ' *knoweth, whether I have of-* ' *fended or no, in uſing my Pre-* ' *rogative, for the which I am* ' *indicted. I have the King's* ' *Licence in my Coffer to ſhew* ' *under his Hand and Broad* ' *Seal, for the executing and* ' *uſing thereof in moſt large Man-* ' *ner, the which now is in* ' *the Hands of mine Enemies;* ' *but, becauſe I will not here* ' *ſtand to contend with his Ma-* ' *jeſty in his own Caſe, I will* ' *here preſently before you con-* ' *feſs the Indictment, and put* ' *myſelf wholly to the Mercy* ' *and Grace of the King, truſt-* ' *ing that he hath a Conſcience* ' *and Reaſon to conſider the* ' *Truth, and my humble Sub-* ' *miſſion and Obedience, wherein* ' *I might well ſtand to my Trial* ' *with Juſtice. Thus much may* ' *you ſay to his Highneſs, that* ' *I wholly ſubmit myſelf under* ' *his Obedience in all Things to* ' *his princely Will and Pleaſure,* ' *whom I never diſobeyed or re-* ' *pugned, but was always con-* ' *tented and glad to pleaſe him* ' *before God, whom I ought* ' *moſt chiefly to have believed* ' *and obeyed, which I now re-* ' *pent:*

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" having before-hand proteſted, That, if he was com-
" peled to unreaſonable Terms, he muſt be obliged
" to break them; beſides, he had ſworn at his Co-
" ronation not to alienate any Thing belonging to
" the Crown of *France*: And, notwithſtanding theſe
" Reaſons, he had adviſed with the greateſt Men
" and Counſellors of his Kingdom, Whether he
" ought to confirm the Treaty of *Madrid*? who una-
" nimouſly declared, He could in no wiſe perform
" ſo unjuſt a Treaty; for that the Parliament would
" admit



' *pent: I moſt heartily deſire you*
' *to have me commended to him,*
' *for whom I ſhall, during my*
' *Life, pray to God to ſend him*
' *much Proſperity, Honour and*
' *Victory over his Enemies.* And
' ſo they left him.

' After which Mr. *Shelley* the
' Judge was ſent to ſpeak with
' my Lord, who, underſtanding he
' was come, iſſued out of his
' Privy-chamber, and came to
' him to know his Buſineſs,
' who after due Salutation did de-
' clare unto him, That the King's
' Pleaſure was to demand my
' Lord's Houſe, called *York-place*,
' near *Weſtminſter*, belonging to
' the Biſhoprick of *York*; and,
' that you do paſs the ſame ac-
' cording to the Laws of this
' Realm, his Highneſs hath ſent
' for all his Judges and learned
' Counſel to know their Opinions
' for your Aſſurance thereof, who
' be fully reſolved, that your
' Grace muſt make a Recogni-
' zance, and before a Judge ac-
' knowledge and confeſs the Right
' thereof to belong to the King
' and his Succeſſors, and ſo his
' Highneſs ſhall be aſſured there-
' of. Wherefore it hath pleaſed
' the King to ſend me hither to
' take of you the Recognizance,
' having in your Grace ſuch Af-
' fiance, that you will not re-
' fuſe ſo to do, therefore I do
' deſire to know your Grace's
' Pleaſure therein.

' *Maſter* Shelley, *quoth my Lord,*
' *I know the King of his own*
' *Nature is of a Royal Spirit,*
' *not requiring more than Rea-*
' *ſon ſhall lead him to by the*
' *Law: And therefore I coun-*
' *ſel you and all other Judges*
' *and learned Men of his Coun-*
' *cil, to put no more into his*
' *Head than Law, that may ſtand*
' *with Conſcience; for when you*
' *tell him, that although this be*
' *Law, yet it is not Conſcience;*
' *for Law without Conſcience is*
' *not fit to be miniſtred by a*
' *King nor his Counſel, nor by*
' *any of his Miniſters; for eve-*
' *ry Counſel to a King ought to*
' *have Reſpect to Conſcience, be-*
' *fore the Rigour of Law:* Laus
' eſt facere quod decet, non quod
' licet: *The King ought for his*
' *Royal Dignity and Preroga-*
' *tive to mitigate the Rigour of*
' *the*

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" admit of no such Alienation, though promised " by the King: That the People of *Burgundy* like- " wise exclaimed against it; that the Princes, his " Friends and Confederates, were all of the same " Opinion: And therefore he had been obliged, " in his own Defence, to enter into a strict Alliance " with them." Then he concludes with implor- ing all the *Christian* Princes, not to see him and his Children wronged; but he says not one Word of the Oath he had taken to obligate him to return to Prison. The

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' *the Law; and therefore in his* ' *princely Place he hath consti-* ' *tuted a Chacellor, to order* ' *for him the same, and there-* ' *fore the Court of* Chancery ' *hath been commonly called the* ' *Court of* Conscience; *for that* ' *it hath Jurisdiction to command* ' *the Law in every Case, to de-* ' *sist from the Rigour of the Exe-* ' *cution: And now I say to you,* ' *Master* Shelley, *have I a Power,* ' *or may I with Conscience give* ' *that away which is now mine* ' *for me and my Successors?* ' *If this be Law and Conscience,* ' *I pray you shew me your Opi-* ' *nion.*

Forsooth, quoth he, there is ' no great Conscience in it, but ' having regard to the King's ' great Power, it may the better ' stand with Conscience, who is ' sufficient to recompence the ' Church of *York* with the double ' Value.

' *That I know well,* quoth ' my Lord, *but there is no such* ' *Condition, but only a bare and* ' *simple Departure of others* ' *Rights: If every Bishop should* ' *do so, then might every Pre-* ' *late give away the Patrimony* ' *of the Church, and so, in Pro-* ' *cess of Time, leave nothing* ' *for their Successors to main-* ' *tain their Dignities, which* ' *would be but little to the King's* ' *Honour.*

' *Well,* quoth my Lord, *let* ' *me see your Commission, which* ' *was shewed to him. Then,* ' quoth my Lord, *tell his High-* ' *ness, that I am his most faith-* ' *ful Subject and obedient Beads-* ' *man, whose Command I will* ' *in no wise disobey, but will in* ' *all Things fulfil his Pleasure,* ' *as you the Fathers of the Law* ' *say I may: Therefore I charge* ' *your Conscience to discharge* ' *me, and shew his Highness* ' *from me, that I must desire* ' *his Majesty to remember there* ' *is both Heaven and Hell.* And ' thereupon the Clerk took and ' wrote the Recognizance, and ' after some secret Talk they de- ' parted.

' Thus continued my Lord at ' *Ashur*; receiving daily Mes- ' sages from the Court, some ' good, and some bad, but more ' ill than good; for his Enemies, ' per-

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The *Imperialiſts* were not wanting in ſetting out a long Anſwer to this Apology, retorting upon the King all he charges upon the Emperor.

" Firſt, as to the Breach of Faith, they prove it " upon the King in the Treaties of *Paris* and *Noyon*, " as the Caſe was decided by the King of *England*, " when he was conſtituted Umpire to adjudge which " of them had infringed the Articles of theſe Treaties, " who had abſolutely declared againſt *France*."

Then they bring in many Inſtances of the King's unjuſt



' perceiving the good Affection ' the King bare always to him, ' deviſed a Means to diſquiet his ' Patience, thinking thereby to ' give him Occaſion to fret and ' chafe, that Death ſhould rather ' enſue than otherwiſe, which ' they moſt deſired, for they ' feared him more after his Fall, ' then they did in his Proſperity, ' fearing that he ſhould, by Rea- ' ſon of the King's Favour, riſe ' again, and be again in Favour, ' and great at the Court; then ' his Enemies might be in Danger ' of their Lives for their Cruelty ' *wrongfully* miniſtred unto him, ' and by their malicious Surmiſes ' invented and brought to paſs ' againſt him: And did conti- ' nually find new Matters againſt ' him to make him vex and fret, ' *but he was a wiſe Man, and* ' *did arm himſelf with much* ' *Patience.*

' At *Chriſtmas* he fell very ' ſick, and moſt likely to die; ' the King, hearing thereof, was ' very ſorry, and ſent Dr. *Butts*, ' his Phyſician, unto him, who ' found him very dangerouſly ' ſick in Bed, and returned to ' the King. The King demand- ' ed, ſaying, Have you ſeen ' yonder Man?—Yes, Sir, quoth ' he:—How do you like him? ' quoth the King.--Sir, quoth he, ' if you will have him dead, I ' will warrant you he will be ' dead within theſe four Days, ' if he receive no Comfort from ' you ſhortly.

' Marry, God forbid, quoth ' the King, that he ſhould die, ' for I would not loſe him for ' 20,000 l. I pray thee go to ' him, and do your Care to ' him.

' Then muſt your Grace, ' quoth Dr. *Butts*, ſend him ' ſome comfortable Meſſage.—So ' I will, quoth the King, by you; ' therefore make Speed to him ' again, and you ſhall deliver him ' this Ring from me for a Token. ' In the which Ring was the ' King's Image engraven with ' a Ruby, as like the King as ' might be deviſed: This Ring ' he knoweth well, for he gave ' me the ſame; and tell him, ' That I am not offended with ' him in my Heart for any ' thing; and that ſhall be

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unjuſt Proceedings, as " his agreeing with Pope " *Leo* the Xth, to divide the Emperor's Dominions " in *Italy*; his encouraging the Rebellion in *Spain*; " his invading *Flanders* and *Navarre*, and much more " to the ſame Purpoſe." As to the Affair of *Milan* they urge, " the King of *France* commenced the War " without any Right to that Dukedom, which is " undoubtedly a Fief of the Empire". In regard to *Flanders* and *Artois* they plead, " the Imperial Dig- " nity takes off all Acknowledgment of Superiority " to

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' known ſhortly; therefore bid ' him pluck up his Heart, and ' be of good Comfort: And I ' charge you come not from ' him, till you have brought him ' out of the Danger of Death, if ' it be poſſible.

' Then ſpake the King to Mrs. ' *Anne Bulloigne*, Good Sweet ' heart, as you love me, ſend the ' Cardinal a Token at my Re- ' queſt, and, in ſo doing, you ' ſhall deſerve our Thanks. She, ' being diſpoſed not to offend ' the King, would not diſobey ' his loving Requeſt; but took ' incontinently her Tablet of Gold, ' that hung at her Side, and de- ' livered it to Dr. *Buts*, with ' very gentle and loving Words. ' And ſo he departed to *Aſhur* ' with Speed; and after him the ' King ſent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. ' *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, to ' conſult and adviſe with Dr. ' *Buts* for my Lord's Recovery. ' Now after Dr. *Buts* had been ' with him, and delivered him ' the Tokens from the King ' and Mrs. *Anne Bulloigne*, with ' the moſt comfortable Words he ' could deviſe on the King's and ' Mrs. *Anne*'s Behalf, he advan- ' ced himſelf in his Bed, and ' received the Tokens very joy- ' fully, giving him many Thanks ' for his Pains and good Com- ' fort. He told him further, that ' the King's Pleaſure was, that ' he ſhould miniſter unto him ' for his Health; and, for the ' better and more aſſured Way, ' he hath alſo ſent Dr. *Cromer*, ' Dr. *Clement*, and Dr. *Wotton*, ' all to join for your Recovery; ' therefore, my Lord, quoth ' Dr. *Buts*, it were well they ' were called to viſit you, and ' to conſult with them for your ' Diſeaſe.

' At which Motion my Lord ' was contented, and ſent for ' them to hear their Judgments; ' but he truſted more to Dr. ' *Cromer* than all the reſt, be- ' cauſe he was the very Means ' of bringing him from *Paris* to ' *England*, and gave him partly ' his Exhibition in *Paris*. To be ' ſhort, in four Days they ſet ' him again upon his Feet, and ' he had gotten him a good ' Stomach to Meat. All this ' done, and my Lord in a right ' good



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" to any other; beſides that, the Fealty of theſe " Provinces were unduly introduced by *Philip* the Iſt." Concerning the Duke of *Bourbon* they ſay, " that no " Promiſes from the Emperor, but the King's re- " fuſing to do him Juſtice, obliged that Prince to " fly to his Imperial Majeſty for Protection; that " the Earldom of *Provence* of Right appertained to " the Emperor, and not to the King; that the King " had not been conquered by Fortune, but by dint of " Valour; was conveyed into *Spain* at his own Requeſt, " and



' good Way of Amendment, ' they took their Leaves and de- ' parted, to whom my Lord of- ' fered his Reward; but they re- ' fuſed, ſaying, The King hath ' given a ſpecial Commandment, ' that they ſhould take nothing ' of him, for at their Return ' he would reward them of his ' own Coſt.

' After this my Lord conti- ' nued at *Aſhur* till *Candlemas*, ' before and againſt which Feaſt, ' the King cauſed to be ſent to ' my Lord three or four Loads ' of Stuff; and moſt thereof, ex- ' cept Beds and Kitchen-ſtuff, was ' loaded in Standards, wherein was ' both Plate and rich Hangings, ' and Chapel-ſtuff, which was ' done without the Knowledge ' of the Lords of the Council; ' for all which he rendered the ' King moſt humble and hear- ' ty Thanks; and afterwards ' made ſuit unto the King to ' be removed from *Aſhur* to ' *Richmond*, which Requeſt was ' granted.

' The Houſe of *Richmond* a ' little before was repaired by ' my Lord to his great Coſt, for ' the King had made an Ex- ' change with him for *Hampton- ' court*. Had the Lords of the ' Council known of theſe Fa- ' vours from the King to the ' Cardinal, they would have per- ' ſuaded the King to the con- ' trary, for they feared leſt his ' now Abode near the King ' might move the King at ſome ' Seaſon to reſort unto him, and ' to call him Home again, con- ' ſidering the great and daily ' Affection the King bare unto ' him. Therefore they moved ' the King that my Lord might ' go down to the *North*, to his ' Benefice there, where he might ' be a *good Stay* (as they al- ' ledged) to the Country; to ' which the King condeſcended, ' thinking no leſs but that all ' had been true according to their ' Relation, being with ſuch Co- ' lour of deep Conſideration, that ' the King was ſtraitway per- ' ſuaded to their Concluſion; ' whereupon my Lord of *Nor- ' folk* by Maſter *Cromwell*, who ' daily did reſort to my Lord, ' willed that he ſhould ſay to him, ' That he muſt go home to his

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" and there treated as if in his own Kingdom: That " he himſelf propoſed to yield up all his Pretences " in *Flanders*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Naples*, and, in " Lieu of *Burgundy*, to conquer *Florence* and *Venice* " for the Emperor; to bear half the Charges of " the Emperor's War, and to ſerve him in Perſon: " That he was never threatned with perpetual Im- " priſonment, but had Liberty to walk Abroad and " hunt: That the King notwithſtanding was carry- " ing on Projects againſt the Emperor, and had endea- " voured

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' Benefice: *Well then*, Thomas, ' quoth my Lord, *we will go* ' *then to* Wincheſter. *I will* ' *then*, quoth Maſter *Cromwell*, ' *tell my Lord of* Norfolk *what* ' *you ſay*; and ſo he did at his ' next meeting of him. *What* ' *ſhould he do there?* quoth the ' Duke; *let him go to the rich* ' *Biſhoprick of* York, *where his* ' *greateſt Honour and Charge* ' *ſteth, and ſo ſhew him.* The ' Lords who were not his Friends ' perceiving, that my Lord was ' diſpoſed to plant himſelf ſo ' nigh the King, thought then ' to withdraw his Appetite from ' *Wincheſter*, moved the King to ' give my Lord a Penſion of ' 4000 Marks out of *Wincheſter*, ' and all the reſt to be diſtribut- ' ed amongſt the Nobility and ' his Servants; and ſo likewiſe ' to divide the Revenues of *St.* ' *Albans*, whereof ſome had 200 ' Pounds: And all the Revenues ' of his Lands, belonging to his ' College at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, ' the King took into his own ' Hands; whereof Maſter *Crom-* ' *well* had the Receipt and Go- ' verniment before my Lord's ' Aſſignment, wherefore it was ' thought very neceſſary that he ' ſhould have the ſame ſtill, ' who executed all Things ſo ' well and exactly, that he was ' had in great Eſtimation for ' his Behaviour therein.

' Now it came to paſs that ' thoſe, to whom the King had ' given any Annuities or Fees ' for Term of Life, or by Pa- ' tent, could not be good but ' only for and during my Lord's ' Life, foraſmuch as the King ' had no longer Eſtate therein, ' but what he had by my Lord's ' Attainder in the Premunire; ' and, to make their Eſtate good ' and ſufficient, there was no ' other Way but to obtain my ' Lord's Confirmation of their ' Patents; and to bring this a- ' bout, there was no other Means ' but by Maſter *Cromwell*, who ' was thought the fitteſt Inſtru- ' ment for this Purpoſe, and for ' his Pains therein he was wor- ' thily rewarded; and his De- ' meanor, his Honeſty, and ' Wiſdom was ſuch, that the ' King took great notice of ' him, as you ſhall hereafter ' hear.



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" voured to make his Escape; which his Imperial " Majesty took no notice of, but only ordered he might " be more strictly observed: That the Protestation, men- " tioned in the Apology, was never made: That " all Conditions, provided they be possible, ought in " Justice to be performed: That the Emperor asked " for no more than was his due: That he had given his " Sister in Marriage to the Duke of *Bourbon*, who, " next his Brother, was Heiress to all his vast Do- " minions: That the Parliament of *Paris* had acted " like



' Still the Lords thought long ' till my Lord was removed fur- ' ther off the King's Way; ' wherefore, among others of ' the Lords, my Lord of *Nor- ' folk* said, *Master* Cromwell, ' *methinks the Cardinal, thy Ma- ' ster, makes no haste to go North- ' wards; tell him, if he go not ' away, I will tear him with my ' Teeth; therefore I would ad- ' vise him to prepare away with ' Speed, or else I will set him ' forwards.* These Words re- ' ported Mr. *Cromwell* to my ' Lord at his next Repair, which ' was then at *Richmond*, having ' obtained Licence of the King ' to remove from *Asher* to *Rich- ' mond*; and in the Evening my ' Lord, being accustomed to walk ' in the Garden, and I, being ' with him standing in an Al- ' ley, espied certain Images of ' Beasts counterfeited in Timber, ' to which I went nearer to ' take the better View of; a- ' mong whom I there saw a ' Dun-cow, whereat I most ' mused of all those Beasts. My ' Lord then suddenly came upon ' me unawares, and, speaking to ' me, said, *What have you espied ' there, whereat you look so ear- ' nestly?*

' *Forsooth*, quoth I, *if it please ' your Grace, I here behold these ' Images, which I suppose were ' ordained to be set up in the ' King's Palace; but amongst them ' all I have most considered this ' Cow, which seems to me the ' Artificer's Master-piece. Yea, ' marry*, quoth my Lord, *upon ' this Cow hangs a certain Pro- ' phecy, which perhaps you ne- ' ver heard of; I will shew you ' there is a Saying.*

*When the Cow doth ride the Bull,*
*Then Priest beware thy Scull:*

' Of which Saying neither my ' Lord that declared it, nor I ' that heard it, understood the ' Effect, altho' the Compass ' thereof was working, and then ' like to be brought to pass. ' This Cow the King gave, by ' reason of the Earldom of *Rich- ' mond*, which was Inheritance; ' and this Prophecy was afterwards ' expounded in this Manner: ' *The Dun-cow, because it is the ' King's*



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" like Flatterers, in telling their King, he was not bound " to the Obſervation of the Treaty: That what " was required of him, and he had ſworn to per- " form, was no Alienation, but Reſtitution: That the " *Burgundians*, ſpoken of in the Remonſtrance, had " been inſtructed with regard to what they were " to ſay: And that, in caſe he would not perform " the Premiſes, he ought to render himſelf Pri- " ſoner again, as he had ſworn to do; and, as his " Predeceſſor King *John* had done, when re- " leaſed

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' *King's Beaſt, betokens the King, and the Bull betokens Miſtreſs* Anne Bulloigne, *who after was Queen.* Her Father gave the black Bull's Head in his Cognizance, and was his Beaſt, ſo that, when the King had married Q. *Anne*, it was thought of all Men to be fulfilled; for what a Number of Prieſts, religious and ſecular, loſt their Heads, for offending of thoſe Laws, made to bring this Matter to paſs, is not unknown to all the World; therefore it may well be judged, that this Prophecy is fulfilled.

' You have heard what Words the Duke of *Norfolk* ſpake to Maſter *Cromwell*, touching my Lord's going into the North; then ſaid my Lord, Tom, *it is time to be going, therefore I pray you go to the King, and tell him I would go to my Benefice at* York, *but for want of Moneys, deſiring his Grace to help me to ſome; and you may ſay, the laſt Money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my Debts, and to compel me to pay the reſt of my Debts is too much Extremity, ſeeing all my Goods are taken from me: And alſo ſhew my Lord of* Norfolk, *and the reſt of the Council, that I would depart, if I had Money.* *Sir,* quoth Maſter *Cromwell, I ſhall do my beſt*; and ſo, after other Communication, departed, and came to *London*. Then, in the beginning of *Lent*, my Lord removed his Lodging into the *Charter-houſe* at *Richmond*, where he lay in a Lodging that Dr. *Colet* made for himſelf; and every Afternoon, for the Time of his Reſidence there, would he ſet in Contemplation with ſome one [illegible] the moſt ant[illegible]hers th[illegible] who conve[illegible] to de[illegible] the vain G[illegible] Wo[illegible] and ther[illegible] unto[illegible] Shirts of[illegible] ne[illegible] Body, [illegible] times a[illegible] th[illegible] ' The [illegible] o M[illegible] Lord ſh[illegible] eſter[illegible] Penſion[illegible] e N[illegible] his goin[illegible] ng [illegible] which,[illegible]

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" leaſed by them to the *Engliſh* on the ſame " Terms."

Notwithſtanding theſe Pieces were publiſhed, the *French* Ambaſſadors continued their Endeavours to prevail with the Emperor, to comply with the King their Maſter's Requeſt, but all in vain; for he refuſed to make the leaſt Alteration in the Treaty of *Madrid*; and his Imperial Majeſty was ſo provoked at King *Francis*'s Behaviour, that he told the *French* Ambaſſadors, " That their Maſter had done *lachment* " &c.

## *The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' of, he commanded it ſhould ' be forthwith paid to Maſter ' *Cromwell*, and the King com- ' manded Maſter *Cromwell* to ' repair to him again, when he ' had received the ſaid Sum, ' which accordingly he did; to ' whom his Majeſty ſaid, *Shew your Lord, that I have ſent him* 10,000 *Pounds of my Benevolence, and tell him, he ſhall not lack; bid him be of good Comfort.* Maſter *Cromwell*, on ' my Lord's Behalf, thanked the ' King for his royal Liberality ' towards my Lord, (and with ' that departed to *Richmond*) ' to whom he delivered the ' Money and the joyful Tid- ' ings, wherein my Lord did ' not a little rejoice; forthwith ' there was a Preparation made ' for his going. He had with ' him in his Train 160 Per- ' ſons, and 12 Carts, to carry ' his Goods, which he ſent ' from his College at *Oxford*; ' beſides other Carts, for his daily ' Carriage of his Neceſſaries for ' his Buildings. He kept his ſo- ' lemn Feaſt of *Eaſter* at *Peterborough*, and upon *Palm-ſunday* ' he bare his Palm, and went on ' Proceſſion with the Monks; ' and upon *Thurſday* he made his ' Maundy, having 59 poor Peo- ' ple whoſe Feet he waſhed and ' kiſſed, and, after he had dried ' them, he gave every one of ' them 12*d.* and three Ells of ' good Canvas to make them ' Shirts, and each of them a Pair ' of new Shoes, and a Caſk of ' Red-herrings. On *Eaſter-day* ' he roſe to the *Reſurrection*, ' and that Day he went in ' Proceſſion in his Cardinal's ' Veſtments, having his Hat ' on his Head, and ſung the ' High Maſs there himſelf ſo- ' lemnly; after his Maſs he gave ' his Benediction to all the ' Hearers with clean Remiſſion. ' From *Peterborough* he took ' his Journey into the North, ' but made ſome Stay by the ' Way, and many Paſſages hap- ' pened in his Journey too te- ' dious here to relate. At the laſt ' he came to *Stoby*, where he ' continued till after *Michael- ' mas*, exerciſing many Deeds ' of Charity. Moſt commonly ' every *Sunday*, if the Weather ' ſerved,

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" *&* *mechantment*, (that is, baſely and wickedly) the very " Words *Francis* declared *Charles* ſhould be free to charge " him with, if he did not perform the Treaty."

No ſooner was the Emperor's Reſolution known, but *Lanoy* quitted the *French* Court, and proceeded to put himſelf at the Head of the Emperor's Army, ordered to march for *Naples*, and ſoon after he arrived in *Corſica*.

Matters having been carried to this Extremity, the League, that had been concluded at *Cognac*, was no

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' ſerved, would he go to ſome ' poor Pariſh-church thereabouts, ' and there would ſay the Di- ' vine Service, and either ſaid ' or heard Maſs, and then cauſ- ' ed one of his Chaplains to ' preach the Word of God to ' the People; and afterwards he ' would dine in ſome honeſt ' Houſe in the Town, where ' ſhould be diſtributed to the ' Poor Alms, as well of Meat ' and Drink, as Money to ſup- ' ply the want of Meat and ' Drink, if the Number of Poor ' did exceed: Thus, with other ' good Deeds, practiſing himſelf ' during the Time of his Abode ' there between Party and Party, ' they being at Variance. About ' *Michaelmas* after he removed ' from thence to *Caywood-caſtle*, ' within ſeven Miles of the ' City of *York*, where we had ' much Honour and Love from ' all Men, high and low, where ' he kept a plentiful Houſe for ' all Comers; alſo he built ' and repaired the Caſtle, which ' was much decayed, having at ' the leaſt 300 Perſons daily in ' Work, to whom he paid ' Wages laying there: Whither ' all the Doctors and Prebends ' of the Church of *York* did re- ' pair to my Lord, according to ' their Duties, as unto the chief ' Head, Patron, and Father of ' their Spiritual Dignities, who ' did joyfully welcome him into ' thoſe Parts, ſaying, *It was no* ' *ſmall Comfort unto them, to* ' *ſee their Head among them, who* ' *had been ſo long abſent from them,* ' *being like to fatherleſs and com-* ' *fortleſs Children for want of his* ' *Preſence*; and, *that they truſted* ' *ſhortly to ſee him amongſt them* ' *in his own Church.* To whom ' he made anſwer, *That it was* ' *the moſt eſpecial Cauſe of his* ' *Coming, to be amongſt them as* ' *a Father, and a natural Bro-* ' *ther.*

' *Sir*, quoth they, *you muſt* ' *underſtand the Ordinances and* ' *Rules of our Church, whereof,* ' *though you be the whole and* ' *ſole Governor, yet you are not* ' *ſo well acquainted as we be* ' *therein; therefore, if it pleaſe* ' *your Grace, we ſhall (under* ' *Favour) open unto you ſome* ' *Part of our antient Laws and* ' *Cuſtoms of our Church, that* ' *our head Prelate and Paſtor, as*

' *you*

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no longer kept a Secret, but publiſhed in all the Courts of *Europe*, and the King of *England* was ſtrongly ſollicited to become a principal Party therein; which he declined, becauſe ſome Articles of that Treaty were apprehended prejudicial to his Intereſt, and others omitted which moſt concerned him; therefore *Wolſey* demanded, in his Majeſty's Behalf, " That Com-" miſſioners might be ſent by the Powers mentioned " in this Treaty, in order that ſuch Parts thereof " might be qualified, wherein the King did not ſeem " to



' *you now are, might not come* ' *above our Quire-door, until by* ' *due Order he be inſtalled. Nor* ' *if you ſhould happen to die be-* ' *fore your Inſtallation, you ſhould* ' *not be buried above in the Quire;* ' *but below, in the nether Part of* ' *the Body of the Church: There-* ' *fore we humbly deſire and be-* ' *ſeech you, in the Name of all our* ' *Brethren, that you would vouch-* ' *ſafe to do therein, as our antient* ' *Fathers, your Predeceſſors, have* ' *done, and that you would not* ' *break the laudable Cuſtoms of* ' *our Church; to the which we* ' *are obliged by Oath, at our firſt* ' *Admittance to obſerve, and di-* ' *vers others, which in our Chap-* ' *ter doth remain upon Record.*

' *Theſe Records,* quoth my Lord, ' *would I feign ſee, and then ſhall* ' *you know further of mine Advice* ' *and Mind in this Buſineſs.*

' A Day was aſſigned to bring ' their Records to my Lord, at ' which Time they reſorted to ' my Lord with their Regiſter ' and Books of Records, where-' in were fairly written their ' Inſtitutions and Rules, which ' every Miniſter of their Church ' was moſt principally and chief-' ly bound to obſerve and infal-' libly keep and maintain.

' When my Lord had read ' the Records, he did intend to ' be at the Cathedral Church of ' *York*, the next *Monday* after *Al-' hallan-tide*, againſt which Time ' due Preparation was made for ' the ſame; but not in ſo ſump-' tuous a wiſe as were his Pre-' deceſſors before him: Nor yet ' in ſuch ſort as the Fame and ' common Report was afterwards ' made of him, to his great ' Slander, and to the falſe Re-' porters no ſmall Diſhoneſty, ' to become Divulgers of ſuch ' notorious Lies, as I am ſure they ' did; for I myſelf was ſent by ' my Lord to *York*, to ſee that ' all Things there ſhould be or-' dered and provided for that ' Solemnity * in a very decent ' Form, to the Honour of that ' antient and worthy Monaſtery ' of *York*.

' It came to paſs, that upon ' *Alhollows-day*, one of the head ' and principal Officers of the ' ſaid

* Yet many Authors, the Cardinal's inveterate Enemies, have averred the contrary.

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to be concerned; and then, these Points having been settled, *Henry* acceded to the Treaty.

The *Spanish* Writers complain of the Pope's Ingratitude upon this Occasion, and say, "That "he was the chief Instrument of this Treaty: "That, besides the many Benefits and Favours he "received from the Emperor, he was beholden to "that Prince for having always supported him "against his most implacable Enemy, Cardinal *Volterieri*; maintained him in the Government of *Florence*,

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

'said Cathedral Church, which 'should have had most doing 'at my Lord's Installation, was 'with my Lord at *Caywood*, and 'sitting at Dinner, they fell into Communication of this Matter, and the Order and Ceremony thereof: He saying, that my 'Lord Cardinal should go a 'foot from a Chapel which 'stands without the Gates of 'of the City, called *St. James*'s 'Chapel, unto the Minster 'upon Cloth, which should 'be distributed to the Poor 'after his said Passage to the 'Church. Which my Lord 'hearing, replied, and said, *Although perhaps our Predecessors have gone upon Cloth, yet 'we intend to go on foot, without any such Pomp or Glory, 'in the Vamps of our Hosen:* 'And therefore gave order to his 'Servants to go as humbly thither as might be, without any 'sumptuous Apparel: *For I intend on* Sunday *to come to you 'to be installed, and to make 'but one Dinner for you at the 'Close; and the next Day to dine 'with the Mayor, and so return 'again thither.*

'The Day being not unknown 'to all the Country, the Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors, 'such Provision sent in, that it 'was almost incredible for Store 'and Variety.

'The common People held 'my Lord in great Estimation 'for his *Purity*, and *Liberality*, 'and also for his *familiar Gesture* 'and *good Behaviour* amongst 'them; by means whereof he 'gained *much Love* of *all* the 'People in the North Parts of 'England.*

## CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Cardinal's Fall, and how he was arrested of High Treason.*

'WHat chanced before his 'last Troubles at *Cay-* 'wood, is a Sign or Token from 'God, of that which should fol- 'low,



* Would one think, that Mr. *Cavendish* could, after this and other such like Declarations, say, immediately on his Master's Death, *Here is the End and Fall of Pride?* &c.

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" *rence*, and at laſt raiſed him to the Papal " Throne."

But theſe Writers take no notice how perfidiouſly the Emperor had dealt with Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom he had twice promiſed to aſſiſt in raiſing him to the Papal Chair, and both times deceived him: So that the Pope only returned to the Emperor, if the *Spaniſh* Account be true, what his Imperial Majeſty had meaſured to *Wolſey*. If Men will act falſly by others, why ſhould they complain when they meet with the like Treatment?

The

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' low, I will now, God willing, declare. My Lord's Enemies, being then at the Court about the King in good Eſtimation and honourable Dignities, ſeeing now my Lord in great Favour, and fearing the King would now call him Home again, they therefore did plot amongſt themſelves to diſpatch him by Means of ſome ſiniſter Treaſon, or to bring him into the King's great Indignation by ſome other Means.

' This was their daily Study and Conſultation, having, for their eſpecial Help and Furtherance, as many vigilant Attendants upon him, as the Poets feign *Argus* had Eyes.

' The King, with theſe their continual Complaints, was moved to much Indignation, and thought it good that the Cardinal ſhould come up, and ſtand to his Trial in his own Perſon; which his Enemies did not like of. Notwithſtanding he was ſent for, and after this Sort.

' Firſt, they deviſed that Sir *Walter Welch*, Knt. one of the King's Privy-chamber, ſhould be ſent down with a Commiſſion into the North, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was ſometimes brought up in the Houſe of my Lord, being joined in Commiſſion with him, ſhould arreſt my Lord of High Treaſon. This being reſolved upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepared for his Journey, with his Commiſſion and certain Inſtruments annexed to the ſame, and took Horſe at the Court-gate, upon *Allhallows-day*, towards my Lord of *Northumberland*'s.

' Now I will declare, what I promiſed before, of a certain Sign or Token of my Lord's Trouble enſuing.

' Upon *Allhallows-day* my Lord, ſitting at Dinner, having at his Board's End *divers of his Chaplains to bear him Company* for want of other Gueſts, you ſhall now underſtand, that my Lord's great Croſs, which ſtood by, fell, and in the Fall broke Dr. *Bonner*'s Head, inſomuch that ſome Blood ran down. My Lord, perceiving

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The Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, were the Confederates that entered into a League with *Francis* againſt the Emperor; the *Italian* Princes in particular ſet heartily about raiſing an Army, in order to make a Stand againſt the Imperialiſts; and their firſt Efforts were to ſuccour the Duke of *Milan*, who was cloſely blocked up in his Caſtle by the Duke of *Bourbon*, lately returned from *Spain*, having taken upon him the Command of the Emperor's Army. But they were diſappointed in their good

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

'the Fall thereof, demanded of 'thoſe that ſtood by him *What 'was the Matter, that they ſtood 'ſo amazed?* I ſhewed him of 'the Fall of his great Croſs 'upon Dr. *Bonner*'s Head: 'Quoth my Lord, *Hath it drawn 'any Blood?*—*Yea*, quoth I. With 'that he caſt his Head aſide, and 'ſoberly ſaid, *Malum Omen!* and 'thereupon ſuddenly ſaid Grace, 'and roſe from Table and went 'to his Bed-chamber, but what 'he did there I cannot tell. 'Now mark how my Lord ex'pounded the Meaning thereof '(in his Fancy) to me, at *Pon'tefract*, after his Fall. Firſt, 'that the great Croſs, that he 'bare as Archbiſhop of *York*, 'betokened himſelf; and Dr. '*Auſtine*, the Phyſician who o'verthrew the Croſs, was he 'that accuſed my Lord, where'by his Enemies caught an Oc'caſion to overthrow him: It 'fell on Dr. *Bonner*'s Head, who 'was then Maſter of my Lord's 'Faculties, and ſpiritual Juriſ'diction, who was then dam'nified by the Fall thereof; 'and moreover the drawing of 'Blood betokeneth Death, which 'did ſuddenly after follow.

'Now the appointed Time 'drew near for Inſtallation; and, 'ſitting at Dinner, the *Friday* 'before the *Monday* that he ſhould 'have been inſtalled at *York*, 'the Earl of *Northumberland*, 'and Mr. *Welch*, with a great 'Company of Gentlemen of the 'Earl's Houſe, and of the Coun'try, whom they had gathered 'in the King's Name, to accom'pany them, (yet not knowing 'to what End) came to the Hall 'of *Cawood*, the Officers being 'at Dinner, and my Lord not 'fully dined, nor knowing any 'thing of the Earl's being 'come.

'The firſt Thing that the 'Earl did, after he had ſet the 'Hall in order, he commanded 'the Porter to deliver the Keys 'of the Gates to him, which 'he would in no wiſe do, al'tho' he was threatned and com'manded in the King's Name 'to make Deliverance thereof to 'one of the Earl's Servants, 'which he ſtill refuſed, ſaying 'to the Earl, *That the Keys*



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good Intentions; for the Duke's People were become quite deſtitute of Proviſions, and therefore ſurrendered the Caſtle, by Capitulation, on the 24th of *July*, wherein was ſtipulated, " That his Troops " ſhould be conducted to *Como*, where he had a " Garriſon; and that he ſhould be allowed the Re- " venues of the Place for his Support, till the Em- " peror's Pleaſure was known."

The *Italian* Writers affirm, " That the Princes " of *Italy* were made the Dupes of the *French* and " *Eng-*



' *were delivered to him by his* ' *Lord and Maſter, both by Oath* ' *and other Command.*

' Now ſome of the Gentle- ' men that ſtood by the Earl, ' hearing the Porter ſpeak ſo ' ſtoutly, ſaid, he is a good Fel- ' low and a faithful Servant to ' his Maſter, and ſpeaks like an ' honeſt Man, therefore give him ' your Charge, and let him keep ' the Keys ſtill; then ſaid my ' Lord, " Thou ſhalt well and " truly keep the Keys to the " Uſe of our Sovereign Lord the " King, and you ſhall let none " paſs in nor out of the Gates, " but ſuch as from time to time " you ſhall be commanded by us, " being the King's Commiſſion- " ers, during our Stay here:" And ' with that Oath he received the ' Keys of the Earl, at Maſter ' *Welch*'s Hands; but of all ' theſe Doings knew my Lord ' nothing, for they had ſtopped ' the Stairs that none ſhould go ' to my Lord's Chamber, and ' they that came down could ' not go up again. At length ' one eſcaped up, and ſhewed ' my Lord, that the Earl of ' *Northumberland* was in the ' Hall, whereat my Lord won- ' dered, and at the firſt be- ' lieved him not, till he heard ' it confirmed by another: Then ' quoth my Lord, *I am ſorry* ' *we have dined; for I fear* ' *our Officers have not provided* ' *Fiſh enough for the Entertain-* ' *ment of him, with ſome honour-* ' *able Cheer fitting his Eſtate and* ' *Dignity:* But with that my ' Lord aroſe from the Table, ' and commanded to let the ' Cloth lay, that the Earl might ' ſee how far forth they were at ' their Dinners, and as he was ' going down the Stairs he en- ' countered with my Lord of ' *Northumberland*, to whom my ' Lord ſaid, *You are heartily wel-* ' *come, my Lord*, and ſo they ' embraced each other: Then ' quoth my Lord Cardinal, *If* ' *you had loved me, you would* ' *have ſent me Word before of* ' *your Coming, that I might have* ' *entertained you according to* ' *your Honour: Notwithſtanding* ' *you ſhall have ſuch Cheer as* ' *I can make you for the preſent,* ' *with a right good Will, truſt-* ' *ing*

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" *English*, by the Treaty concluded at *Cognac*." But on the other Hand these very Writers own, " That " the Duke of *Urbino* acted but faintly against the " Emperor, or he might have relieved *Milan*: That " if the Duke of *Bourbon* had been hard pressed " in the beginning, he must have abandoned that " Dutchy. But then the Reason, they say, that " the Pope, and the *Venetians* were not so zea- " lous as might be expected, was owing to the " King of *France*'s not sending them the Succour " of

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

' *ing you will accept thereof in*
' *good Part, hoping hereafter to*
' *see you oftner, when I shall be*
' *more able to entertain you.*
' This said, my Lord took him
' by the Hand, and led him to
' his Chamber, whom followed
' all the Earl's Servants, and
' they being there all alone, sav-
' ing I, which kept the Door
' as my Office required, being
' Gentleman-usher, these two
' Lords standing at a Window,
' the Earl trembling said, *I ar-*
' *rest you of High Treason*, with
' which Words my Lord was
' well-nigh astonished, standing
' still a good Space without speak-
' ing one Word.

' But at the last quoth my
' Lord, *What Authority have you*
' *to arrest me?* Quoth the Earl,
' *I have a Commission so to do.*—
' *Shew it me*, quoth my Lord,
' *that I may see the Contents there-*
' *of.*—*Nay, Sir, that you may not*,
' quoth the Earl. Then quoth
' my Lord, *Hold you contented,*
' *for I will not obey your Arrest,*
' *for there hath been between your*
' *Ancestors and my Predecessors*
' *great Contentions and Debates,*
' *and therefore, unless I see your*
' *Authority, I will not obey you.*

' Even as they were debating
' the Matter in the Chamber,
' so likewise was Master *Welch* bu-
' sy in arresting Dr. *Austine*, at the
' Door, saying, *Go in thou Traitor,*
' *or I shall make thee*: With that
' I opened the Portal-door, and he
' did thrust in Dr. *Austine* before
' him with Violence. The Mat-
' ter on both Sides astonished
' me very much, marvelling
' what all this should mean, un-
' til at the last, Master *Welch*,
' being entered my Lord's Cham-
' ber, began to pluck off his
' Hood, being of the same Cloth
' his Cloak was, which Hood
' he wore to the Intent he should
' not be known, who kneeled
' down to my Lord; to whom
' my Lord said, *Come hither, Gen-*
' *tleman, and let me speak with*
' *you*, commanding him to stand
' up, and said thus; *My Lord of*
' Northumberland *hath arrested*
' *me, but by what Authority I*
' *know not, if you be privy thereunto,*
' *and joined with him therein, I*
' *pray you shew me.*—*Indeed, my*
' *Lord, if it please your Grace,*

' quoth

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" of Troops, he had solemnly promised by the said " Treaty."

The General that commanded in *Naples*, in the Absence of the *Vice-roy*, observing a sort of Dissention among the Confederates, exhorted *Colonna* to take advantage of the Duke of *Urbino*'s being from *Rome*, and to make War upon the Pope. This Step excited his Holiness, with the other good Allies, to order the Duke of *Urbino*'s Army, then in the *Milanese*, to march into *Naples*. But the *Spanish* General, to avoid



' quoth Master *Welch*, *I pray have* ' *me excused; there is annexed to* ' *our Commission certain Instruc-* ' *tions, as you may not see, nor be* ' *privy to.*—*Why*, quoth my Lord, ' *be your Instructions such, as I* ' *may not see, nor be privy there-* ' *unto? yet, peradventure, if I be* ' *privy unto them, I may help you* ' *the better to perform them; for* ' *it is not unknown to you, that* ' *I have been of Counsel in as* ' *weighty Matters as these are;* ' *and I doubt not but I shall do* ' *well enough, for my Part, and* ' *prove myself a true Man against* ' *the Expectations of my cruel* ' *Enemies: I see the Matter where-* ' *upon it groweth well; there is* ' *no more to do I trow; you are of* ' *the Privy-chamber, your Name* ' *is Mr.* Welch; *I am content-* ' *ed to yield to you, but not to* ' *the Earl, without I see his* ' *Commission; and also you are* ' *a sufficient Commissioner in this* ' *Behalf, being one of the Privy-* ' *chamber: Therefore put your* ' *Commission in Execution, spare* ' *me not, I will obey you and the* ' *King; for I fear not the Cruel-* ' *ty of mine Enemies, no more* ' *than I do the Truth of my Al-* ' *legiance, wherein, I take God* ' *to witness, I never offended his* ' *Majesty, in Word or Deed, and* ' *therein I dare stand Face to Fact* ' *with any, having a Deference* ' *without Partiality.*

' Then came my Lord of ' *Northumberland*, and command- ' ed me to avoid the Chamber, ' and, being loth to depart from ' my Master, I stood still and ' would not remove; on which ' he spake again and said, *There* ' *is no Remedy, you must de-* ' *part*; with that I looked upon ' my Master, as one who would ' have said, *Shall I go?* And, per- ' ceiving by his Countenance, ' that it was not for me to stay, ' I departed, and went into an- ' other Chamber, where were ' many Gentlemen and others ' to hear News, to whom I made ' a Report of what I heard and ' saw, which was great Heavi- ' ness to them all.

' Then the Earl called into ' his Chamber divers of his own ' Servants, and after he and Ma- ' ster *Welch* had taken the Keys ' from my Lord, he committed ' the

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avoid the Invasion, so ordered it, that *Colonna* desisted from his Project, and made the Pope all the Satisfaction he required for his rash Attempt; the Agreement being signed at *Rome*, on the 2d of *August*, which produced so great an Alteration in Affairs, that *Urbino* quitted his Designs upon *Naples*, the very Point proposed to be gained by the *Spaniards*.

About a Month after this Agreement, and when the Pope least expected it, *Colonna*, in the Night, be-

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq*;

'the Keeping of my Lord unto 'five Gentlemen, and then they 'went about the House, and 'put all Things in order, in-'tending to depart the next Day, 'and to certify the King and the 'rest of the Lords what they had 'done.

'Then went they busy about 'to convey Dr. *Austine* away to 'London with as much Speed 'and Privacy as they could pos-'sibly, sending with him divers 'Persons to conduct him, who 'was bound to his Horse like a 'Traitor.

'And this being done, when 'it was near Night, the Com-'missioners sending two Grooms 'of my Lord's to attend him 'in his Chamber, (where he 'lay all Night) the rest of the 'Earl's Men watched in the 'Chamber, and all the House 'was watched, and the Gates 'safe kept, that no Man could 'pass or repass until next Morn-'ing.

'About eight of the Clock 'next Morning, the Earl sent 'for me into his Chamber, and 'commanded me to go to my 'Lord; and as I was going I 'met with Master *Welch*, who 'called me unto him, and shewed 'me how the King's Majesty 'bare unto me his principal Fa-'vour, for the Love and dili-'gent Service that I had per-'formed to my Lord: Where-'fore, quoth he, the King's Plea-'sure is, that you shall be about 'him as Chief, in whom his 'Highness putteth great Confi-'dence and Trust; and there-'upon gave me in Writing the 'Articles; which when I had 'read, I said, I was content 'to obey his Majesty's Plea-'sure, and would be sworn 'to the Performance thereof: 'Whereupon he gave me my 'Oath.

'That done, I resorted to my 'Lord, whom I found sitting in 'a Chair, the Table being ready 'spread for him. But, so soon 'as he perceived me to come 'in, he fell into such woeful 'Lamentation, that would have 'forced a flinty Heart to mourn.

'I then comforted him as well 'as I could, but he would not; 'for quoth he, *I am much*

'*grieved*

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between the 19th and 20th of *Sept.* entered *Rome*, with 5 or 6000 Men, which ſo alarmed his Holineſs, that he retired in a very great Panick to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo:* But, as he was not ſafe in that Caſtle, he was perſuaded to deſert his Allies, and make a ſeparate Truce with the Emperor for four Months.

In the mean time *Fronſperg*, the *German* General, was on his March with a good Body of Troops into *Italy*, and in a ſhort time arrived on the Borders of the *Milaneſe*.

Here

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'*grieved that I have nothing to reward you, and the reſt of my true and faithful Servants, for all the good Service that they and you have done me, for which I do much lament.*

'Upon *Sunday* following the Earl and Maſter *Welch* appointed to ſet forward; for my Lord's Horſe and mine were brought ready into the Inner-court, where we mounted, and, coming towards the Gate ready to ride out, the Porter had no ſooner opened the ſame, but we ſaw without ready attending, a great Number of Gentlemen and their Servants, ſuch as the Earl had appointed for that Service to attend and conduct my Lord to *Pontefract* that Night.

'But, to tell you the Truth, there were alſo many of the People of the Country aſſembled at the Gate, lamenting his Departure, in Number above 3000, who after the opening of the Gate that they had a Sight of him, cried out with a loud Voice, *God ſave your Grace! God ſave your Grace! the foul Evil take them that have taken you from us; we pray God that Vengeance may light upon them.* And thus they run after him through the Town of *Caywood*, for he was there *very well beloved both of rich and poor.*

## CHAP. XX.

*Of the Cardinal's Entertainment at the Earl of* Shrewſbury's, *and of his Death and Burial at* Lieceſter.

'AFTER our Departure from *Caywood* we came to *Doncaſter*; the third Day we came to *Sheffield-park*, where my Lord of *Shrewſbury* lived within the Lodge, and the Earl and his Lady, and a great Company of Gentlewomen

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Here he expected the Duke of *Bourbon* to join him, though he was not in a Condition to answer his Expectations; and the Difficulty sprung from his having no Money to pay his Troops, who had positively refused to stir out of *Milan* before they had received their Arrears, and even threatned to pillage the City. To prevent which the Duke laid Hands on the Plate belonging to the Churches, coined it into Money, and paid his Forces part of what was due to them, who had scarce received any thing

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Esq;*

'men and Servants stood without 'the Gate to attend my Lord's 'Coming; at whose alighting the 'Earl received him with much 'Honour, and, embracing him, 'said these Words, *My Lord, you 'are most heartily welcome to my 'poor Lodge, and I am glad to 'see you.*

'Here my Lord staid a Fortnight, and was most nobly entertained; he spent most of his Time and applied his mind to Prayers, continually in great Devotion. It came to pass as he sat one Day at Dinner, I, being there, perceived his Colour divers times to change; I asked him, *If he was not well?* who answered me with a loud Voice, *I am suddenly taken with a Thing at my Stomach as cold as a Whetstone, and am not well: Therefore take up the Table, and make a short Dinner, and return to me again suddenly.* I made but a little Stay, and came to him again, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease: He desired me to go to the Apothecary and ask him, *If he had any thing would break Wind upwards?* He told me he had. Then I went and shewed the same to my Lord, who did command me to give him some thereof, and so I did, and it made him break Wind exceedingly: *Lo,* quoth he, *you may see it was but Wind, for now, I thank God, I am well eased:* And so he arose from the Table and went to Prayers, as he used every Day after Dinner.

'In the Afternoon my Lord of *Shrewsbury* sent for me to him, and he said, *Forasmuch as I have always perceived you to be a Man in whom my Lord putteth great Affiance, and I myself knowing you to be a Man very honest;* (with many other Words of Commendations and Praises, more than becometh me to rehearse, he said) *your Lord and Master hath often desired me to write unto the King, that he might answer his Accusations before his Enemies: And this Day I have received Letters from his Majesty by Sir* 'Wil-



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thing ſince the Battle of *Pavia*. This want of Money put the Duke of *Bourbon* upon another Project, in order to raiſe Caſh, which was, to have the Chancellor *Merone* brought to his Trial, for the Attempt already mentioned; who, being condemned to die, gave *Bourbon* 20,000 Ducats to ſave his Life; and ſoon after he was ſo far reſtored to Favour, that he became one of the *Conſtable*'s chief Counſellors.

Whilſt the Duke was exerting himſelf to get over theſe



'William Kingſton, *whereby I perceive, that the King hath him in good Opinion, and, upon my Requeſt hath ſent for him by the ſaid Sir* William Kingſton. *Therefore now I would have you play your Part wiſely with him, in ſuch ſort, as he may take it quietly and in good Part, for he is always full of Sorrow and much Heavineſs at my being with him, that I fear he will take it ill if I bring him Tidings thereof: And thercin doth he not well, for I aſſure you that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me moſt hearty Thanks for his Entertainment: And therefore go your way to him and perſuade him, that I may find him in Quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you.*

'*Sir*, quoth I, *and if it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I ſhall endeavour to the beſt of my Power, to accompliſh your Lordſhip's Command: But, Sir, I doubt, when I name this Sir* William Kingſton, *that he will miſtruſt ſome Ill, becauſe he is* Conſtable *of the Tower, and Captain of the Guard, having in his Company 24 of the Guard to accompany him.—That is nothing*, quoth the Earl, *what if he be* Conſtable *of the Tower and Captain of the Guard, he is the fitteſt Man for his Wiſdom and Diſcretion to be ſent about ſuch a Buſineſs, and for the Guard, it is only to defend him from thoſe that might intend him any Ill. Beſides that, the Guard are for the moſt part ſuch of his old Servants as the King hath took into his Service to attend him moſt juſtly.—— Well Sir*, quoth I, *I ſhall do what I can*, and ſo departed and went to my Lord, and found him in the Gallery with his Staff and his Beads in his Hands, and ſeeing me come, he aſked *me, What News?——Forſooth*, quoth I, *the beſt News that ever you heard, if you can take it well.—— I pray God it be true then*, quoth he.—*My Lord of* Shrewſbury, ſaid I, *your moſt aſſured Friend, hath ſo provided by his Letters to the King, that his Majeſty hath ſent for you by Maſter* Kingſton, *and 24 of the Guard to conduct you*

'*to*

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theſe Difficulties, *Lanoy* arrived at *Naples* with a Body of *Spaniſh* Troops, and began his Artifices by amuſing the Pope with a new Negotiation, that tended only to hinder him from taking Meaſures to preſerve himſelf and the State. But as ſoon as he had heard of *Fronſperg*'s Arrival, and that *Milan* was out of Danger, he changed his Note; and, in reſpect to *Franciſco Sforza*, whom he had promiſed ſhould be brought to his Trial, with no other Intention than to ſave the Honour of the Empire, for that the Judges

By GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

'*to his Highneſs.*—*Maſter* Kingſton, quoth he, *and clapped his* '*Hand on his Thigh, and gave* '*a great Sigh.*

'*May it pleaſe your Grace,* quoth I, *I would you would* '*take all Things well, it would* '*be much better for you; content yourſelf, for God's Sake,* '*and think that God and your good* '*Friends have wrought for you,* '*according to your own Deſires: And, as I conceive, you have* '*much more Cauſe to rejoice than* '*lament or miſtruſt the Matter; for, I aſſure you that your Friends* '*are more afraid of you, than* '*you need be of them: And his* '*Majeſty, to ſhew his Love to you,* '*hath ſent Maſter* Kingſton *to* '*honour you, with as much Honour as is your Grace's Due,* '*and to convey you in ſuch eaſy* '*Journeys as is fitting for you,* '*and you ſhall command him to* '*do, and that you ſhall have* '*your Requeſt. And I humbly intreat you to imprint this my Perſuaſion in your Highneſs's Diſcretion, and to be of good Cheer,* '*wherewith you ſhall comfort your-*'*ſelf, and give your Friends and* '*poor Servants great Comfort and* '*Content.*—*Well,* quoth he, *I* '*perceive more than you can imagine, or do know.*

'Preſently after came my Lord '*to acquaint him with that I had ſo* '*lately related.* My Lord thanked '*the Earl for his great Love, and* '*called Maſter Kingſton,* who came '*to him preſently, and, kneeling down before him, ſaluted* '*him in the King's Behalf,* '*whom my Lord bare-headed* '*offered to take up, but he* '*would not: Then,* quoth my '*Lord, Maſter* Kingſton, *I pray* '*you ſtand up, and leave your* '*Kneeling to me; for I am a* '*Wretch replete with Miſery,* '*eſteeming myſelf but as a meer* '*Object utterly caſt away, but* '*without Deſert, God he knows;* '*therefore, good Mr.* Kingſton, '*ſtand up.*

'Then Maſter *Kingſton* ſaid, '*The King's Majeſty hath him* '*commended unto you.*—*I thank* '*his Highneſs,* quoth my Lord; '*I hope he is in good Health.*—'*Yea,* quoth Maſter *Kingſton,* '*and*

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Judges ſhould have private Orders to declare him innocent, he altered his Mind; for he now demanded ſuch a pecuniary Reparation from *Sforza*, that he was in no Condition to pay; ſo that the Pope's Expectations were thereby fruſtrated, and *Sforza* ſtill kept out of his Dukedom.

Here we ſhall introduce *Rapin*'s Summary of theſe different Tranſactions. "The Pope and the "*Venetians*, ſays he, had begun the War in *Italy* on "the ſole Expectation, that *France* would ſend thither "a



*and he hath him commended unto you, and commanded me to bid you be of good Cheer, for he beareth you as much good Will as ever he did.* And, whereas Report hath been made unto him, that you ſhould commit againſt his Majeſty certain heinous Crimes, which he thinketh not to be, but yet he for Miniſtration of Juſtice, in ſuch Caſes requiſite, could do no leſs than ſend for you, that you might have your Trial, miſtruſting nothing your Truth and Wiſdom, but that you ſhall be able to acquit yourſelf of all Complaints and Accuſations extended againſt you; and you may take your Journey to him at your Pleaſure, commanding me to attend you.*

'*Maſter* Kingſton, quoth my Lord, *I thank you for your good News: And, Sir, hereof aſſure yourſelf, if I were as able and luſty as ever I was to ride, I would go with you poſt; but, alas! I am a diſeaſed Man, having a Flux,* (at which Time it was apparent that he had poiſoned himſelf†) *and it hath made me very weak; but the comfortable News you bring is of purpoſe,* I doubt, *to bring me to a Fool's Paradiſe, for I know what is provided for me. Notwithſtanding I thank you for your good Will, and Pains taken about me, and I ſhall with Speed make ready to ride with you.* After this I was commanded to make all Things ready for our Departure the Morrow after.

'When my Lord went to Bed, he fell very ſick of the Laſk, which cauſed him to go

* *Very great Comfort to be ſure, after he had* broke his Heart with ill Uſage.

† *We do not believe theſe Words were wrote by* Cayendiſh, *no more than ſome others, here and there unnaturally foiſted in by ſome ill-minded Perſon, we doubt, on purpoſe to leſſen the Magnanimity of the Cardinal's Mind: Nor does it any ways follow, That, becauſe he had a* Flux, *he had taken* Poiſon.

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"a powerful Army, and the King of *England* make a "Diverſion in the *Low Countries*; or, at leaſt, ac- "cording to Cuſtom, to furniſh Money for maintain- "ing the War: The Eaſineſs wherewith he had been "amuſed in the former Wars cauſed his Money to be "relied on as a ſure Aid; tho' when a Peace or Truce "was concluded, this was never thought on. But the "Scene was changed; *Henry*, being grown more wiſe "by Experience, was no longer willing to find Mo- "ney for the Affairs of others. Beſides, the Treaſure 'left

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

'go to Stool from time to time 'all that Night, inſomuch that, 'from that time till Morn- 'ing, he had 50 Stools, and the 'Matter that he voided was very 'black, which the Phyſicians 'called *Aduſtive*; whoſe Opini- 'ons were, That he had not a- 'bove four or five Days to live.

'Notwithſtanding, he would 'have ridden with Mr. *Kingſton* 'the next Day, had not the Earl 'of *Shrewſbury* adviſed him to 'the contrary; but the Day fol- 'lowing he took his Journey 'with Mr. *Kingſton*, and them 'of the Guard, who, eſpying 'him, could not abſtain from 'weeping, conſidering he was 'their old Maſter, and now in 'ſuch a miſerable Caſe, whom 'my Lord took by the Hand, 'and would, as he rode by the 'Way, ſometimes talk with one, 'and ſometimes with another, 'till he came to a Houſe of my 'Lord's ſtanding in the Way, 'calld *Hardwick-hall*, where 'he lay all that Night very ill at 'eaſe. The next Day he came 'to *Nottingham*, and the next 'Day to *Leiceſter-abbey*; and the 'next Day he waxed ſo very 'ſick, that he had almoſt fallen 'from his Horſe, ſo that it was 'Night before he got to *Leiceſter-* *Abbey*; where, at his coming 'in at the Gates, the Abbot 'with all their Convent met him 'with lighted Torches, whom 'they honourably received and 'welcomed with great Reverence. 'To whom my Lord ſaid, *Fa- 'ther Abbot, I am come to lay my 'Bones amongſt you*; riding ſtill 'on his Mule till he came to the 'Stairs of his Chamber, where 'he alighted: Maſter *Kingſton*, 'holding him by the Arm, led 'him up Stairs; who told me 'afterwards, *That he never felt 'ſo heavy a Burthen in all his 'Life:* And as ſoon as he was in 'his Chamber he went ſtraight 'to Bed: This was upon *Satur- 'day*, and ſo he continued.

'On *Monday* in the Morning, 'as I ſtood by his Bed-ſide about 'eight o'Clock, the Windows 'being cloſe ſhut, and having 'Wax-lights burning upon the 'Cupboard, I thought I per- 'ceived him drawing on towards 'Death. He, perceiving my 'Sha-

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" left him by the King, his Father, was long ſince ex-
" hauſted. He could now raiſe Money only by Means
" of the Parliament, which always framed Difficulties,
" or made him purchaſe his Subſidies with ſome extra-
" ordinary Favour.*

" So *Francis*, finding him not in the ſame Diſpoſi-
" tion as formerly, feared to engage too far before
" he was ſecure of his Aſſiſtance. He perceived he
" was no longer inclined to favour the Emperor as be-
" fore; but that did not ſuffice, it was alſo neceſſary
' to

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' Shadow upon the Bed-ſide,
' aſked, *Who was there? Sir,*
' quoth I, *it is I. How do you?*
' quoth he. *Well, Sir,* quoth I,
' *if I might ſee your Grace well.*
' *What is it o'Clock?* quoth he.
' I anſwered, *It was about eight*
' *o'Clock.* Quoth he, *That can-*
' *not be,* rehearſing eight o'Clock
' ſo many times. *Nay,* quoth he,
' *that cannot be; for at eight of*
' *the Clock you ſhall ſee your Maſ-*
' *ter's Time draw near, that I*
' *muſt depart this World.* With
' that, Doctor *Palmer,* a worthy
' Gentleman, ſtanding by, bid
' me aſk him, *If he would be*
' *ſhriven, to make him ready for*
' *God, whatever chanced to fall*
' *out?* which I did: But he was
' very angry with me, and aſked,
' *What I had to do to aſk him ſuch*
' *a Queſtion?* Till at the laſt Mr.
' Doctor took my Part, and
' talked with him in *Latin,* and
' pacified him.

' After Dinner Maſter *King-*
' *ſton* ſent for me, and ſaid, *Sir,*
' *the King hath ſent unto me Let-*
' *ters by Maſter* Vincent, *our old*
' *Companion, who hath been in*
' *Trouble in the* Tower *for Money*
' † *that my Lord ſhould have at*
' *his Departure, a great Part of*
' *which* Money *cannot be found;*
' *wherefore the King, at Maſter*
' Vincent's *Requeſt, for the De-*
' *claration of the Truth, hath ſent*
' *me hither with his Grace's Let-*
' *ter, that I ſhould examine my*
' *Lord, and have your Counſel*
' *therein, that he may take it well*
' *and in good Part. And this is*
' *the Cauſe of my ſending for you,*
' *therefore I deſire your Counſel*
' *therein for Acquittal of this poor*
' *Gentleman, Maſter* Vincent.
' *Sir,* quoth I, *according to my*
' *Duty, and by my Advice, you*
' *ſhall reſort unto him in your own*
' *Perſon to viſit him, and in Com-*
' *muni-*

* Here *Rapin* falls upon the Parliament, tho' in the Year 1522 he talked in another Manner.

† *'Tis but too evident, that* glorious Wolſey's *Diſgrace and Fall* were more owing *to his Maſter's vicious and wantonly lucrative Diſpoſition, than to any real Crimes in him deſerving ſuch Treatment: And a ſtronger Inſtance of* ſtrict Uprightneſs *cannot be related of him, nor of any Man, than is here ſubjoined.*

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" to perſuade him to join in the League of *Italy*, " otherwiſe the whole Charge of the War was to " fall upon *France*, which was already too much " drained of Men, Money, and Generals; for this " Reaſon his Aim was to induce the Emperor (thro' " Fear of the League) to accept of the Equivalent " offered him for *Burgundy*, and to continue the War " in *Italy* only till that Prince was reſolved, or the " King of *England* entirely engaged. To that End " he made the Pope and *Venetians* large Promiſes, " to

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' *munication break the Matter unto him: And if he will not tell you the Truth therein, then may you certify the King thereof; but in any Caſe name not nor ſpeak of my Fellow* Vincent: *Alſo, I would not have you detract the Time, for he is very ſick, and I fear that he will not live paſt a Day or two.* Accordingly, Maſter *Kingſton* went to my Lord, and demanded the Money, ſaying, *That my Lord of* Northumberland *found a Book at* Caywood-houſe, *and ſays, that you had lately borrowed* 10,000 *Pounds, and there is not ſo much as one Penny to be found, who hath made the King privy to the ſame; wherefore the King hath written to me, to know what is become thereof, for it were pity that it ſhould be holden from you both: Therefore I require you, in the King's Name, to tell me the Truth, that I may make a juſt Report thereof unto his Majeſty of your Anſwer.*

' With that, quoth my Lord, ' *Oh good Lord! how much doth it grieve me, that the King ſhould think any ſuch Thing in me,* that I ſhould deceive him of one Penny, ſeeing I have nothing, nor never had, God be my Judge! that I ever eſteemed ſo much my own as his Majeſty's, having but the bare Uſe of it during my Life, and after my Death to leave it wholly to him; wherein his Majeſty hath prevented me. But for this Money that you demand of me, I aſſure you it is none of my own; for I borrowed it of divers of my Friends to bury me, and to beſtow amongſt my Servants, who have taken great Pains about me. Notwithſtanding, if it be your Pleaſure to know, I muſt be content; yet, I beſeech his Majeſty to ſee it ſatisfied, for the Diſcharge of my Conſcience to them that I owed it to.* —— *Who be they?* quoth Maſter *Kingſton.*— *That ſhall I tell you,* quoth my Lord, *I borrowed* 200 *l. of* John Allen *of London, another* 200 l. *of Sir* Richard Greſham, *and* 200 l.

* *As any Man ſurely would have been, who had ſerved his King ſo well; therefore this is no Inſtance of* Puſillanimity.

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" to hinder them from being impatient, but per-
" formed them very ill; a ſmall Body of Troops,
" under the Command of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*,
" was hitherto all that he contributed for the League,
" whereof he was himſelf the Author and Head."

" Mean time the Pope was extreamly uneaſy at
" ſeeing the Slowneſs, or rather Coldneſs, of the two
" Monarchs on whom he relied. Indeed he had no
" Cauſe to complain of *Henry*, who had made him
" no Promiſe, and yet he ceaſed not earneſtly to
" preſs

## *The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' 200 *l. of the Maſter of the* Sa-
' voy, *and alſo* 200 *l. of Dr.*
' Highden, *Dean of my College*
' *at* Oxford; 200 *l. of the Trea-*
' *ſurer of the Church, and* 200 *l.*
' *of Mr.* Ellis, *my Chaplain*;
' *and another* 200 *l. of a Prieſt:*
' *I hope the King will reſtore*
' *it again, foraſmuch as it is none*
' *of mine.*

' *Sir*, quoth Maſter *Kingſton*,
' *there is no doubt in the King,*
' *whom you need not diſtruſt: But,*
' *Sir, I pray you where is the*
' *Money?* Quoth he, *I will not*
' *conceal it, I warrant you; but*
' *I will declare it unto you before I*
' *die, by the Grace of God. Have*
' *a little Patience with me, I pray*
' *you; for the Money is ſafe enough*
' *in an honeſt Man's Hands, who*
' *will not keep one Penny thereof*
' *from the King.*

' So Maſter *Kingſton* departed
' for that Time, my Lord being
' very weak, and about four of
' the Clock next Morning, as I
' conceived, I aſked him, *How*
' *he did?—Well*, quoth he, *if I*
' *had any Meat, I pray you give*
' *me ſome.—Sir*, quoth I, *there*
' *is none ready.* Then he ſaid,
' *You are much too blame; for*
' *you ſhould have always Meat*
' *for me in a Readineſs, when-*
' *ſoever that my Stomach ſerves*
' *me: I pray you get ſome ready*
' *for me; for I mean to make*
' *myſelf ſtrong to-day, to the In-*
' *tent I may go to Confeſſion, and*
' *make me ready for God.* Quoth
' I, *I will call up the Cooks to*
' *prepare ſome Meat, and alſo I*
' *will call Mr.* Palmer, *that he*
' *may diſcourſe with you till your*
' *Meat be ready. With a good*
' *Will*, quoth my Lord: And
' ſo I called Maſter *Palmer*, who
' roſe directly and came to my
' Lord.

' Then I went and acquainted
' Maſter *Kingſton*, *That my Lord*
' *was very ſick, and not like to*
' *live.——In good faith*, quoth
' Maſter *Kingſton*, *you are much*
' *to blame to make him believe*
' *he is ſicker than he is.——Well*,
' *Sir*, quoth I, *you cannot but*
' *ſay, I gave you Warning, as I*
' *am bound to do.* Upon which
' Words he aroſe and came unto
' him; but, before he came,
' my Lord Cardinal had eaten
' a Spoonful or two of Callis,
' made

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" preſs him to undertake the Defence of the Church; " as if the Church could not have ſubſiſted, if the " Emperor had remained Maſter of *Milan:* But he " received only general Anſwers, *Henry* being un- " willing to engage in the Affairs of *Italy*, where " he could reap no Advantage. In the mean time " the Pope was at an extraordinary Expence, which " threw him into great Streights; for which Reaſon " he privately continued with the Vice-roy of *Naples* " a Negotiation, with intent to haſten or retard " it

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' made of Chicken; and after ' that he was in his Confeſſion ' the Space of an Hour: And ' then Maſter *Kingſton* came to ' him, and bid him, *Good-mor-* ' *row*, and aſked him, *how he* ' *did?*—*Sir*, quoth he, *I watch* ' *but God's Pleaſure to render up* ' *my poor Soul to him. I pray you* ' *have me heartily commended un-* ' *to his Royal Majeſty; and be-* ' *ſeech him on my Behalf, to call* ' *to his princely Remembrance all* ' *Matters that have been between* ' *us, from the Beginning and the* ' *Progreſs; and eſpecially between* ' *good Queen* Katherine *and him,* ' *and then ſhall his Grace's* Con- ' ſcience *know whether I have* ' *offended him or not.** *He is a* ' *Prince of moſt royal Carriage,* ' *and hath a princely Heart; but,* ' *rather than be will miſs or* ' *want any Part of his Will, he* ' *will endanger the one Half of* ' *his Kingdom. I do aſſure you* ' *I have often kneeled before him,* ' *ſometimes three Hours together;* ' *to perſuade him from his Will* ' *and Appetite, but could not* ' *prevail: And, Maſter* King- ' ſton, *had I but ſerved* GOD, ' *as diligently as I have ſerved* ' *the* KING, *he would not have* ' *given me over in my grey Hairs.* ' *But this is the juſt Reward that* ' *I muſt receive for my diligent* ' *Pains and Study, not regarding* ' *my Service to* GOD, *but only to* ' *my Prince. Therefore let me ad-* ' *viſe you, if you be one of the* ' *Privy-council, as by your Wiſ-* ' *dom you are fit, take heed what* ' *you put in the King's Head, for* ' *you can never put it out again.*

' *And I deſire you further to re-* ' *queſt his Grace, in God's Name,* ' *that he have a vigilant Eye to* ' *ſuppreſs the helliſh* † Lutherans, ' *that they increaſe not through his* ' *great*

* *This it coming to the* Teſt *indeed. Here is* Plain-dealing *in* dying Words; *and the* Truth *diſcovered, when he had nothing to ex-* *pect or fear in this Life.*

† *This, and what follows, we take to be the Effect of his Zeal for the Religion of his Judgment, and not of a* perſecuting *Spirit; though at*



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" it according to the Proceedings of the Kings of " *England* and *France*. Herein he acted agreeable " to his real Temper, which made him always con- " ſider the having two Strings to his Bow as the " ſafeſt Maxim of Policy; but he was always ſo un- " fortuate as to reap, from his Artifices, Fruits con- " trary to his Hopes. As his ſole Aim was to hin- " der the Emperor from keeping the Dutchy of " *Milan*, to that End it was he would have the " Kings of *England* and *France* make conſiderable " Efforts,

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' *great Negligence, in ſuch a ſort* ' *as he be compelled to take up* ' *Arms to ſubdue them, as the* ' *King of* Bohemia *was; whoſe* ' *Commons, being infected with* ' Wickliff's *Hereſies, the King* ' *was forced to take that Courſe.* ' *Let him conſider the Story of* ' Richard *the* IId, *the ſecond Son* ' *of his Progenitor, who lived in* ' *the Time of* Wickliff's *Seditions* ' *and Hereſies: Did not the Com-* ' *mons, I pray you, in his Time,* ' *riſe againſt the Nobility and* ' *chief Governors of this Realm;* ' *and at the laſt ſome of them* ' *were put to Death without* ' *Juſtice or Mercy? And, under* ' *Pretence of having all Things* ' *common, did they not fall to* ' *Spoiling and Robbing, and at* ' *laſt took the King's Perſon, and* ' *carried him about the City,* ' *making him obedient to their Pro-* ' *clamations? Did not alſo the* ' *traiterous Heretick, Sir* John ' Oldcaſtle, *Lord* Cobham, *pitch* ' *a Field with Hereticks againſt* ' *King* Henry *the* IVth, *where* ' *the King was in Perſon and* ' *fought againſt them, to whom* ' GOD *gave the Victory?*

' *Alas! if theſe be not plain* ' *Preſidents, and ſufficint Perſua-* ' *ſions to admoniſh a Prince, then* ' GOD *will take away from us* ' *our prudent Rulers, and leave us* ' *to the Hands of our Enemies;* ' *and then will enſue Miſchief* ' *upon Miſchief, Inconveniences,* ' *Barrenneſs, and Scarcity for* ' *want of good Orders in the* ' *Commonwealth, from which* ' GOD *of his tender Mercy defend* ' *us!*

' *Maſter* Kingſton, *farewel, I* ' *wiſh all Things may have good* ' *Succeſs; my Time draws on, I* ' *may not tarry with you, I pray* ' *you remember my Words.*

' Now began the Time to ' draw near, for he drew his ' Speech at length, and his ' Tongue began to fail him, his ' Eyes perfectly ſet in his Head, ' his Sight failed him. Then we ' began

*firſt Sight it bears ſuch a Face: But the contrary appeared by his Conduct; for we do not find, that he ever was the Cauſe of any one's* Death *or* Suffering *on the Score of* Religion.

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" Efforts, after which he would not have ſcrupled " to have forſaken them, provided the Emperor " had ſatisfied him: On that Article *Francis* " was in no better Diſpoſition in regard to his Al- " lies; his View was to recover his Sons out of *Spain*, " and could he have ſucceeded by treating with the " Emperor, he would have as little regarded the Con- " cerns of the Pope and *Venetians*.

" As to the Republick of *Venice*, it was of great " Conſequence to her, that the Emperor ſhould not re- " main

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq*;

' began to put him in mind of ' CHRIST's Paſſion, and cauſed ' the Yeomen of the Guard to ' ſtand by privately to ſee him die, ' and bear witneſs of his Words ' and his Departure, who heard ' all his Communications.

' And then preſently the Clock ' ſtruck eight, at which Time ' he gave up the Ghoſt, and thus ' departed he this Life, one of ' us looking upon another, ſup- ' poſing he propheſied of his De- ' parture.

' We ſent for the Abbot of ' the Houſe to anoint him, who ' ſpeedily came as he was end- ' ing his Life, who ſaid certain ' Prayers before that the Life was ' out of his Body.

' Here is the End and Fall of ' Pride, for I aſſure you he was ' in his Time the *proudeſt Man* ' alive, having more regard to ' the Honour of his Perſon, ' than to his ſpiritual Func- ' tion, wherein he ſhould have ex- ' preſſed more Meekneſs and Hu- ' mility. For Pride and Ambition ' are both linked together; and ' Ambition is like Choler, which ' is an Humour that makes Men ' active, earneſt, and full of A- ' lacrity and Stirring, if it be not ' ſtopped or hindred in its Courſe: ' But, if it be ſtopped, and can- ' not have its Way, it becometh ' aduſt, and thereby malign and ' venemous. So ambitious and ' proud Men, if they find the ' Way open for their Riſing and ' Advancement, and ſtill get for- ' wards, they are rather buſy ' than dangerous: But, if they ' be checked in their Deſires, ' they become ſecretly diſcontent, ' and look upon Men and Mat- ' ters with an evil Eye, and are ' beſt pleaſed when Things go ' backwards; but I forbear to ' ſpeak any further herein.*

' The

* *We much ſuſpect the Genuineneſs of this whole Paragraph: For we cannot eaſily conceive how* Cavendiſh *could ſo ſuddenly fall into ſuch a Tranſition of ſevere Reflections, after he had been ſo pathetically conducting his Maſter thro' his Adverſity to his Death, and ſo*



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" main Maſter of the *Milaneſe*, and her Expences to " hinder it was nothing, in compariſon to the Pre- " judice ſhe would have received, if he peaceably " held that Dutchy: So never ceaſing to ſollicit " the Kings of *England* and *France*, ſhe continues " the War, though but faintly, in Expectation that " theſe two Monarchs would bear the greater Part of " the Charge.

" The Pope ſtill continued his Negotiations with " the Vice-roy of *Naples*, which afforded the *Venetians*

a

## *The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL,

' The Cardinal being departed, Maſter *Kingſton* ſent Poſt ' to *London* one of the Guards: Then was Maſter *Kingſton* and the Abbot in Conſultation about the Funeral, which was ſolemnized the Day after, for Maſter *Kingſton* would not ſtay the return of the Poſt.*

' They thought good that the Mayor of *Leiceſter* and his Brethren ſhould ſee him perſonally dead, to prevent falſe Reports that he was alive. And in the interim, whilſt the Mayor was ſent for, his Bones were laid in a Coffin, and his Shirt of Hair and his over Shirt of fine Holland were taken off and were put into the Coffin together, with all ſuch Ornaments wherewith he was inveſted when he was made Archbiſhop, as Mitre, Croſs, Ring, and Pall, and all other Things due to his Order.

' Thus he lay that Day with his Coffin opened and bare-faced, that all that deſired might ſee him; about three of the Clock he was buried by the Abbot with great Solemnity; and, being in the Church, his Corps were ſet in the *Lady's* Chapel with many Tapers, and poor Men about him holding the Torches in their Hands, who watched the Corps all that Night, whilſt the Canons ſung divers Dirges and other divine Oriſons: And at four of the Clock the next Morning, the Cardinal's Servants and Maſter *Kingſton* came to the Church to the Execution of many Ceremonies, in ſuch Manner as is uſual at Biſhops Burials: And ſo he went to Maſs, where the Abbot did offer, and divers others; and then went to bury the Corps in the middle of the ' ſaid

*fully ſhewing his uncommon Reſignation to what befel him, as well as his hearty good Wiſhes for the Welfare of his Prince and Country, notwithſtanding all his Diſappointments. And, if it was really his, we muſt pronounce it, an* ungenerous, inconſiſtent Flouriſh.

* *It rather looks as if thoſe about him had poiſoned him, by their hurrying his Corps ſo ſoon out of the Way, and calling in the Magiſtrates of the Town to ſee he was dead.* But of this more hereafter.

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" a plauſible Reaſon of not exerting themſelves, be-
" cauſe they were afraid his Inconſtancy would ren-
" der all their Endeavours ineffectual.

" The Emperor on his Part was no leſs embar-
" raſſed, as he had but very little Money, a vigorous
" War muſt have annoyed him very much; and
" therefore, finding the King of *France* made no ve-
" ry great Efforts, he did not haſten the freſh Sup-
" plies into *Italy*, for fear of raiſing the Attention
" of his Enemies. Beſides, ſince *Fronſperg*'s Arrival
" with

*By* GEORGE CAVENDISH, *Eſq;*

' ſaid Chapel. By this Time it ' was ſix of the Clock, being *St.* ' *Andrew*'s Day.

' Then we prepared for our ' Journey to the Court, where ' we attended his Majeſty; the ' next Day I was ſent for to the ' King, conducted by Maſter ' *Norris*, where the King was in ' his Knight-gown of Rochet-' velvet furred with Sables, be-' fore whom I kneeled the Space ' of an Hour, during which ' Time his Majeſty examined ' me of divers Particulars con-' cerning my Lord Cardinal, ' wiſhing rather than 20,000 l. ' that he had lived.*

' He aſked me concerning the ' 1500 *l.* which Maſter *Kingſton* ' moved to my Lord. Quoth I, ' *I think I can perfectly tell your* ' *Grace where it is, and who* ' *hath it.*—*Can you?* quoth the ' King; *I pray tell me, and you* ' *ſhall not be unrewarded.*—*Sir,* ' quoth I, *after the Departure* ' *of Maſter* Vincent *from my Lord* ' *at* Scrooby, *who had the Cuſto-* ' *dy thereof, leaving it with my* ' *Lord in divers Bags, he deli-* ' *vered it to a certain Prieſt* ' *ſafely to be kept to his Uſe.*—— ' *Is this true?* quoth the King. ' —*Yea,* quoth I, *without doubt,* ' *the Prieſt will not deny it before* ' *me, for I was at the Delivery* ' *thereof, who hath gotten divers* ' *other rich Ornaments, which* ' *are not regiſtered in the Book of* ' *my Lord's Inventory or other* ' *Writings, whereby any Man is* ' *able to charge him therewith* ' *but myſelf.* Then ſaid the King, ' *Let me alone for keeping this* ' *ſecret between me and you; how-* ' *beit, three can keep Counſel if* ' *two be away; and, if I knew* ' *my Cap was privy to my Coun-* ' *ſel, I would caſt it into the Fire,* ' *and burn it: And, for your Ho-* ' *neſty and Truth, you ſhall be our* ' *Servant in our Chamber, as you* ' *were with your Maſter. There-* ' *fore go your Ways to* Sir John ' Gage, *our Vice-chamberlain;* ' *to whom we have ſpoken al-* ' *ready, to admit you our Servant* ' *in*

* *A poor Speech to make after ſo great a Loſs: But you ſee he is ſoon buſy after the* 1500 *l.*

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" with the *German* Troops, he thought himself " ſtrong enough to keep the Dutchy of *Milan*, " which was then his chief Aim." This was the Diſpoſition of theſe Potentates at the Cloſe of this Year.

*Affairs of* Hungary. 1526.

During the Courſe of theſe Affairs a bloody War, between the *Turkiſh* Emperor and *Lewis*, King of *Hungary*,† was carried on, whoſe Armies, on the 18th of *Auguſt*, engaged. The *Ottomans* conſiſted of 300,000 Men, but

*The* SECRET HISTORY *of the* CARDINAL.

' *in our Chamber; and then go* ' *to the Lord of* Norfolk, *and he* ' *ſhall pay you your whole Year's* ' *Wages, which is* 10*l.*—*Is it* ' *not ſo?* quoth the King. *Yes,* ' *forſooth, and if it pleaſe your* ' *Grace,* quoth I. And withal ' ſaid the King, *You ſhall re-* ' *ceive a Reward of the Duke of* ' Norfolk. So I received 10*l.* ' of the Duke for my Wages, ' and 20*l.* for my Reward, and ' his Majeſty gave me a Cart ' and ſix Horſes, the beſt that ' I could chuſe out of my Lord's ' Horſes to carry my Goods, ' and five Marks for my Charges ' homewards.*

*The* END *of* CAVENDISH's *Hiſtory.*

* *We think, if* Cavendiſh *had helped his Maſter's Creditors to the Money, purſuant to his Deſire, it would have been rather more honourable.*

† *Hungary* is one of the nobleſt but moſt unfortunate Kingdoms next to *Greece* in *Europe*. On the North it is bounded by the *Upper Poland* and *Red Ruſſia*, the *Carpathian* Mountains interpoſing between them; on the Eaſt by *Tranſilvania*, and *Moldavia*; on the *Weſt* by *Stiria*, *Auſtria*, and *Moravia*; and on the South by *Sclavonia* and *Servia*. *Baudrand*, including *Sclavonia*, bounds it on the South with *Croatia*, *Boſnia*, and *Servia*. It extends in Length, from *Preſbourgh*, along the *Danube*, to the Borders of *Tranſilvania*, for the Space of 300 *Engliſh* Miles, 190 in Breadth: It takes in all that Tract of Land that was heretofore poſſeſſed by the *Jazyges Metanaſtæ*, a *Samaritan* People; and Part of *Panonia Superior* and *Inferior*. It is exceeding fruitful, yielding Corn and Graſs in abundance; and abounds ſo with Cattle, that it is thought they have ſufficient alone to ſerve all *Europe* with Fleſh, and they certainly ſend yearly into *Germany* 80,000 Oxen. They have Deer, Partridges and Pheaſants in ſuch Plenty, that any Body that can may kill them. They have Mines of *Gold*, *Silver*, *Tin*, *Lead*,

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but the *Hungarians* did not exceed 20,000. The Action was fatal to *Lewis*, who not only loſt the Day, but was himſelf, in endeavouring to ſave his Life, drowned in a Moraſs. By his Defeat and Death moſt Part of *Hungary* was loſt, with the Lives of 200,000 of the Natives, who were cut off by the *Turks* in many Engagements afterwards. *Lewis* was born

*Lead*, *Iron*, and *Copper*; Store of River or Freſh-water Fiſh; and Wines equal in Goodneſs to thoſe of *Candia*: The principal Cities are *Buda* or *Offen*, *Preſburgh*, *Alcba Regalis*, and *Caſchaw*..

The *Hungarians* are a Tribe of the *Scythians*, or *Tartars*, who in the Times of *Arnulphus*, Emperor of *Germany*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tranſilvania*, and the *Upper Hungary*, under *Lewis* the IVth, Succeſſor to *Arnulphus*; having paſſed the *Danube*, waſted all *Germany*, *Italy*, *Greece*, *Sclavonia*, and *Dacia*; till, broken by the Forces of *Germany*, and their Savageneſs taken off by the *Chriſtian* Religion, they were firſt taught, under King *Stephen*, about the Year 1016, by *Albert*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, to be more quiet and civilized. This *Stephen* began his Reign in the Year 1000, and, in 23 Deſcents, this Race continued to 1302; when *Charles Martel*, Son of *Charles*, King of *Naples*, and *Mary*, Daughter of *Stephen* the IVth King of *Hungary*, partly by Election, and partly by Inheritance and Conqueſt, ſucceeded to this Crown. To him ſucceeded *Lewis*, his Nephew, in 1343: *Charles* the IId, another of his Deſcendants, in 1383; *Sigiſmund*, Emperor, and K. of *Bohemia*, in the Right of *Mary* his Wife, eldeſt Daughter of *Lewis*, in 1387: *Albert* of *Auſtria*, in the Right of *Elizabeth* his Wife, Daughter of *Sigiſmund*, in 1438: *Uladiſlaus*, Son of *Albert* and *Elizabeth*, in 1444; *Mathias Corvinus*, Son of *Johannes Huniades*, by Election, in 1458; *Uladiſlaus* the IId, Son of *Caſimir* the IVth, King of *Poland*, and *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Albert*, in 1491; *Lewis* the IId, ſlain in the Battle of *Mohatz*, ſucceeded in 1517; and in the Year 1526, *Lewis John Sepuſio*, Waywood of *Tranſilvania*, was choſen: This Prince was ouſted for a Time by *Ferdinand*, Brother to the Emperor *Charles* the Vth, but was reſtored by *Solyman* the *Turk*, who died in 1540. The People thereupon crowned *Stephen*, his Son, an Infant in the Cradle; but *Solyman* ſeized no leſs than 23 Counties at once, under Pretence of defending them againſt *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, who took remaining 32: So that they ſhared his whole Kingdom between them, which ever ſince has been wretched enough, being moſtly the Seat of War between the *Auſtrian* and *Ottoman* Empires. It has two Archbiſhops Sees, *Gran (Strigonium)* and *Golocza*, and 13 Biſhopricks; ſix under the firſt, and ſeven under the latter.

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born without a Skin, had a Beard at fifteen Years of Age, at eighteen his Hair was grey, and was drowned in his twentieth.

The Death of this Prince was a freſh Source of Calamities for *Hungary*: *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor's Brother, who had married *Lewis*'s Siſter *Ann*, made Pretenſions to the Crown of that Kingdom, and had for his Competitor *John de Zapol Waywood*, of *Tranſilvania*; and they were both elected by two different Parties: But *John* put himſelf under the Protection of the *Turks*, who cauſed him to be crowned at *Buda*; while *Ferdinand*, ſupported by his Brother, *Charles* the Vth, was taking Meaſures to proſecute his Pretenſions; and ſuch was the Situation of Affairs in that Part of the World at this Period of Time.

*Affairs of* Scotland. 1526.

In the Courſe of this Year the Faction, that had eſpouſed the Queen's Intereſt with the Earls of *Arran* and *Hamilton*, attempted to take away the King's Perſon from the Earl of *Angus*; but, they miſcarrying, the Earl reſolved to be revenged on thoſe concerned, and as Sir *Walter Scot* was at this Time at the Head of a large Body of Forces, which he had raiſed, the Earl ſent an Herald with Threats, "That, if he "did not retire, he ſhould delare him a Traitor." Sir *Walter*,* (who was Laird of *Buccleugh*) nothing daunted

* This Gentleman's Family was both antient and noble, having highly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Cauſe of their Country for many Generations; and in Proceſs of Time Sir *Walter Scot*, one of his Deſcendents, was advanced to the Title of Lord *Scot*, of *Buccleugh*, on the 16th of *March*, 1619; afterwards *Walter*, his Son, was created Earl of *Buccleugh*; and, on the 20th of *April*, 1673, upon Failure of Iſſue Male the Lady *Ann Scot* became the Heireſs of the Family, who was by King *Charles* the IId created Dutcheſs of *Buccleugh*; and ſhe married the then Duke of *Monmouth*. This Dutcheſs was eſteemed not only the greateſt Fortune in *Scotland*, but the moſt accompliſhed Lady in the

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To the Right Hon.ble

CHARLES LORD BALTIMORE &c

This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his Lordships

most obedient Serv.t Joseph Grove

N.o Parr Sculp.r

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daunted thereat, answered, "He came to do his "Prince Service, and not only to invite him to his "House, but to shew the King what Forces he was "capable of raising, in Case his Majesty should re- "quire him." After Sir *Walter* had thus declared his Sentiments, he retired to his Estate; upon this the Earl did not think proper to take any Steps to his Pre-

the Isle of *Britain*. Hence it came to pass, that the Duke had also the Title of Duke of *Buccleugh*, and took the Surname of *Scot*, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, where he that marries any great Heiress, or Chief of a Family, is obliged to take upon him her Name, to preserve the Family.

This famous Duke was unfortunately cut off in the 36th Year of his Age, being beheaded on *Tower-hill* on the 15th of *July*, 1685, (but the Cause is so well known, we need not repeat it) who, it might have been truly said, was once the Delight of his Father (*Charles* the IId) and the Darling of the People. He had by his Dutchess four Sons and two Daughters: *Charles*, his eldest Son, died young; *James*, his second Son, was stiled Earl of *Doncaster*; but, by his Father's Attainder in *England*, he lost that Title, and took that of Earl of *Dalkeith*, in *Scotland*: This Nobleman married a Daughter of the late Earl of *Rochester*, by whom he had four Sons and two Daughters, and died in the late Queen *Ann*'s Reign: And of his four Sons only *Francis* is living, who succeeded him, and, upon his Grandmother's Death, became Duke of *Buccleugh*, and hath been lately restored to the Title of Earl of *Doncaster*. His present Grace's Son, the Earl of *Dalkeith*, married a Daughter of the late Duke of *Argyll*.

*Henry*, third Son of the Duke of *Monmouth*, survived his Father; (but *Francis*, his fourth Son, died in the Duke's Life-time.) As to *Henry*, her late Majesty Queen *Ann* was pleased to create him Earl of *Deloraine*, on the 29th of *March*, 1706. This noble Lord is now one of the 16 Peers for *North Britain*, Knight of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*, one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and Major General of his Majesty's Forces. His Lordship's first Lady was *Ann*; Daughter of *William Duncombe*, Esq; by whom he had two Sons: This Lady died in 1720, and in the Year 1725 his Lordship married *Mary*, Daughter of Colonel *Philip Howard*, (who was one of the Maids of Honour to the late Queen *Carolina*, when Princess of *Wales*; and by his present Countess (allowed by all to be a Lady of distinguished Merit) he has one Daughter, born in *February*, 1727.



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Prejudice, though he purſued others who perſiſted in their Deſigns.

This Earl's Siſter, the Lady *Jane Douglas*, intermarried with *John* Lord *Glames*.*

*Affairs of* Ireland. 1526. *Coner O Brien* was the laſt of 12 Princes of the *O Brien* Family, after the Landing of King *Henry* the IId in *Ireland*, who reigned ſucceſſively in *Thomond*, and were ſtiled either Kings of *Limerick* or *Thomond*, inſtead of being Sovereign Monarchs of *Ireland*, as their Anceſtors deſervedly were.

*Teige* and *Donogh*, who were the next Brothers to *Conor*, died without Iſſue; but *Murrough*, the younger, married *Eleanor*, Daughter of *Thomas Fitzgerald*, called *Knight of the Valley*; and by her he had *Dernwid O Brien*, who was the firſt Baron of *Inchiquin*:† And the ſaid *Conor*, the laſt King of *Thomond*, having a Son who was a Minor, to whom the Principality of Right belonged, but the Uncle had poſſeſſed himſelf of it by Violence.

This *Murrough* reſigned the Title and Principality to the King, who was pleaſed to create him Earl of *Thomond* during Life. Mean time *Donogh*, the Son of *Coner*, was made Baron of *Ibrican*, and, after his Uncle's Deceaſe, *Edward* the VIth was pleaſed to create him Earl of *Thomond*, and limited the ſame to him and his Heirs Male.‖

This

* From this Lord the preſent Right Hon. *Thomas Lyon*, Earl of *Strathmore*, &c. is deſcended, one of whoſe Anceſtors was firſt created Earl of *Kinghorn*, the 10th of *July*, 1606, which Title was afterwards changed to *Strathmore*.

† From this Nobleman the preſent Right Hon. *William O Brien*, Earl of *Inchiquin*, is deſcended; who married the Lady *Ann Hamilton*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Earl of *Orkney*, by whom he has ſeveral Children.

‡ The Pretence being a moſt unreaſonable Cuſtom, called *Thaniſtry*, then uſed in *Ireland*, whereby the 'Eſtate and Title 'was to deſcend for Life only, 'upon the eldeſt and worthieſt 'Man of the Blood of the Sur-'name of him that died laſt 'ſeized.'

‖ By Virtue of which Patent the late Right Hon. *Henry* Earl of

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This Year the King was pleaſed to create *Vlick def Burgh** Earl of *Clanrickard*, and to make his Son, the Duke of *Richmond*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and *Richard Nugent*, Lord Baron of *Delvin*,† Lord Deputy, who could the eaſier keep the Kingdom quiet, becauſe the two great Enemies and Competitors, the Earls of *Kildare* and *Ormond*, were both in *England*. About this time the Title of *Ormond* was taken from Sir *Pierce Butler*, who was with great Pomp, in lieu thereof created Earl of *Oſſory*, at *Windſor*, on the 23d of *February*; and whoever is curious enough to ſee a Copy of the Patent, and a full Account of the whole Solemnity, may find it *Lib.* G. 121. in the Library at *Lambeth*.

But it is to be obſerved, that among other Noblemen and Gentlemen, who contributed greatly towards the Peace of this Country, was *Luke Dillon*, Eſq; ‡ who had conſiderable Eſtates in the Counties of *Meath*, *Roſcomon*, and *Longford*.

Now we are ſpeaking of the Affairs of *Ireland*,



of *Thomond* enjoyed the Title, being lineally deſcended from the ſaid *Donogh*; alſo to that of Viſcount of *Tadcaſter*, in the County of *York*, his Brother being created ſo by the late King *George* the Iſt, *October* the 5th, 1714; and, this laſt Earl dying without Iſſue-male, the Title is extinct, tho' a conſiderable Part of the Eſtate goes to one of the Sons of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Inchiquin*.

One of the Anceſtors of the preſent Rt. Hon. *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earl of *Kerry*, married a Daughter of ——— *O Brien*, Prince of *Thomond*: And of this Family is alſo the preſent Rt. Hon. *Daniel O Brien*, Ld. Viſcount *Clare*.

* This Peer was deſcended from a very antient Family, one of whom had been Earl of *Ulſter*, who married *Maud*, 2d Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, ſecond Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaſter*, ſecond Son of King *Henry* the IIId; and from this great Family the preſent Earl of *Clanrickard* is deſcended.

† From this noble Lord the preſent Right Hon. *Thomas Nugent*, Earl of *Weſtmeath*, and Baron of *Delvin*, is deſcended.

‡ This Gentleman's Son, *Luke Dillon*, Eſq; was Chief *Baron* of the *Exchequer* in the Year 1570; and, in the Reign of King *James* the Iſt, Sir *Robert Dillon*, Knt. was created Earl of *Roſcomon*; and from this Peer the preſent Right Hon. *James Dillon*, Earl of *Roſcomon*, is deſcended.

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we ſhall here take notice, that we omitted to mention, under the Head of the Affairs of *Ireland*, in the Year 1494, that the *Order of the Garter* was eſtabliſhed in *Ireland*, and among others Sir *Nicholas Taaf*,* and Sir *Robert Preſton*,† were two of the firſt Members, it conſiſting only of 13, which was ſet aſide by Act of Parliament the ſame Year.—And,

In the Year 1499, that *Thomas* Lord *Barrymore* was ſlain by his Brother *David*, who was Archdeacon of *Cork*, but upon what Occaſion, or whether he was puniſhed for it, our Hiſtorian does not tell us, only ſaying, "That *David*, Lord *Barry-*" *more*, ‡ was one of the Lords of Parliament in "1579."

*Affairs of* England. ‖ 1526.

Whilſt *Turky*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* were thus employed, "*Henry*, as *Rapin* admits, peaceably enjoyed his Kingdom:" And then he obſerves, "That, ever ſince the Publiſhing of the "League

* This Knight was of an antient Family, ſome of whom were very inſtrumental, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, in reducing the *Iriſh* to her Majeſty's Obedience; and from him the Rt. Hon. *Theobald Taaf*, Earl of *Carlingford*, is deſcended.

† From this Gentleman the preſent Right Hon. *Jenico Preſton*, Lord Viſcount *Gormanſton*, is deſcended; one of whoſe Anceſtors was Lord Deputy of *Ireland* in *Henry* the VIIIth's Time.

‡ This Nobleman had a conſiderable Eſtate in the County of *Cork*; from whom is deſcended the Right Hon. *James* Earl of *Barrymore*; and by his preſent Counteſs, Siſter to *Arthur Chicheſter*, Earl of *Donegal*, has ſeveral Children living.

‖ We think it beſt here to introduce not only Tranſlations of ſeveral Letters from the Doge of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, to the King, Queen, and Cardinal *Wolſey*, after the Battle of *Pavia*, but alſo King *Francis*'s Oath, to confirm the Treaties concluded between *England* and *France* during his Captivity, (which we have from *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, Vol. XIV.) in Support of what we have related touching the different Negotiations carried on from that Period down to this Year.

AN-

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" League of *Cognac*, these Powers (*Rome* and *Venice*) " had used their constant Endeavours to persuade " *Henry* to come into it, as also to declare himself " Protector thereof. They also ordered their Am- " bassa-

ANDREW GRITTI, *Doge of* Venice, *to the* KING.

' We send to your most se- ' rene Majesty, the noble and ' our most beloved Citizen, Dr. ' *Lawrence Aurium*, Knt. to re- ' side as our Ambassador at your ' Court, whom we have order- ' ed, in his Instructions, to ac- ' quaint your Majesty with cer- ' tain Matters; and we pray ' your Highness to give the same ' Credit to what our Ambassador ' shall say, which proceeds from ' our Will, as if spoken by our- ' selves in your Presence. Given ' in our *Ducal* Palace, on the ' last Day of *March*, 1525.'

ANDREW GRITTI, *Doge of* Venice, *to the* QUEEN.

' We send the noble and our ' beloved Citizen, Dr. *Mark An- ' thony de Venerio*, as our Ambas- ' sador to his Majesty's Court, ' with Instructions to impart cer- ' tain Matters to your Majesty in ' our Name.

' We entreat your Majesty to ' have the same Regard for what ' he says, as if spoken by us in ' your Presence. Given in our ' *Ducal* Palace, on the 28th Day ' of *July*, 1526.'

*The Doge of* Venice *to* WOLSEY.

' Most Rev. Father in Christ, ' we send the noble and our most ' beloved Citizen, Dr. *Mark An- ' thony Venerio*, as our Ambassa- ' dor to the most serene and most ' excellent King of *England* and ' *France*, whom we have en- ' joined to visit you, and to re- ' late several Things to you in ' our Name.

' Therefore, we entreat you ' to give such Credit to the ' Words of the said Ambassador, ' who shall speak the Sentiments ' of our Mind, as if delivered ' by ourselves. Given in our ' *Ducal* Palace, on the 23d of ' *July*, 1526.'

FRANCIS SFORZA, *Duke of* Milan, *to the Cardinal* of YORK.

' Most Rev. most illustrious ' Lord, and honoured Father, ' we lately received your Lord- ' ship's Letters from Sir *Gregory* ' *Cassali*, who, in your Name, ' had communicated several ' Things to us, relating to the ' *most Christian King's* Glory, ' your Lordship's Honour and ' Credit, the common Safety of ' *Italy*, and our Welfare, than ' which nothing could be more ' acceptable to us in this Storm; ' for we are so tossed, that with- ' out his Majesty's Assistance and ' your most Rev. Lordship's ' Help, we must be dashed on ' the Rocks.

' The Arrival of his Majesty's ' Ambassadors in *Italy* was very ' seasonable, for they persuaded ' several of the *Italian* Princes of ' his Majesty's Desire of defend- ' ing them, and the Imperial

' Digni-

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" baſſadors, in caſe the King would accept of " what they propoſed, to ſettle with him the Pen- " ſion he was to have: But this Penſion was not to " be raiſed till they had conquered *Naples* and *Mi-* " *lan.*" It ſeems then, upon the Hopes of an imaginary Penſion, the Pope meant to perſuade *Henry* to declare War

' Dignity; neither are we diſ-
' fident, but that our Enemies,
' being deterred from being de-
' ſirous of new Adventures, may
' be brought perhaps to a ſound
' Way of Thinking.

' As to what intereſts our-
' ſelves we are not ignorant,
' that all is to be done thro' the
' Authority, Endeavours, and
' Care of your moſt reverend
' Lordſhip, that ſome time or
' other we may be at Reſt, and
' return you ſuch Thanks as we
' are able, beſeeching you to
' continue us your pious Offices;
' and we, in all Changes of Af-
' fairs, ſhall not only venture our
' Fortune, ſuch as it is, but our-
' ſelves alſo for your Welfare
' and Honour.

' What the State of War, as
' well as that of *Italy*, is, your
' moſt Rev. Lordſhip will learn
' from *Auguſtin Scarpinello*, our
' Miniſter there. I cannot, out
' of my Duty to his Majeſty,
' be ſilent on the fine Oppor-
' tunity, which now offers, of
' carrying the *Britiſh* and Im-
' perial Standard into *France*;
' for while the diſheartened Ene-
' my is employed here, ſuch an
' Enterprize would be very eaſi-
' ly accompliſhed. We humbly
' commend ourſelves, and all
' that belong to us, to your moſt
' Rev. and Illuſtrious Lordſhip,
' whom we pray may long hap-
' pily live and proſper.
' *Cremona, Feb.*
' 27, 1525.
' FRANCIS, *D. of* Milan.'

*The Duke of* MILAN *to the* KING.

' *Moſt Serene and moſt Chriſtian*
' *Lord,*

' Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, being on
' his Return to your *moſt Chriſ-*
' *tian Majeſty*, I could not let
' paſs ſuch an Opportunity of un-
' folding ſome Things to him, that
' he may lay them before your
' Majeſty; and I moſt humbly
' entreat you to give the ſame
' Credit to him, as if I myſelf
' ſhould ſpeak to you.

' One Thing I muſt not con-
' ceal, and that is, that I am
' the Perſon who owe my Eſtate
' and Life to your *moſt Chriſtian*
' *Majeſty*, to whom I humbly
' recommend myſelf and mine.
' Given at *Milan*, on the 12th
' of *March*, 1525.
' FRANCIS, *D. of* Milan.'

*The Duke of* Milan's *Letter to the Cardinal of* YORK.

' *Moſt Reverend, moſt Illuſtrious,*
' *and moſt Honoured Lord and*
' *Father,*

' We have communicated ſe-
' veral Things to Sir *Gregory*
' *Caſſali*, relating to our En-
' gagements to his *Moſt Chriſtian*
' *Ma-*

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War againſt the Emperor, and conſequently draw him into a very great Expence. " But, for once, " continues *Rapin*, the King would not be his Dupe: " He knew, by Experience, what it was to join with " the Pope in the *Italian* Affairs." This ſurely ſhews that the Court of *London* attended only to the preſerving

' *Majeſty*, and our Regard for ' your Lordſhip, which tend to ' the Exaltation of the one, and ' the Honour and Advantage of ' the other; neither have we ' been ſilent on the Hopes we ' conceive, from both your Cle- ' mencies, whom we join in ' this Union of Succour——† ' As the aforeſaid Knight is to ' lay the whole before your moſt ' Rev. Lordſhip, we entreat you ' to give the ſame Attention to ' him, as if we ourſelves con- ' ferred with you; and we moſt ' humbly recommend ourſelf, ' and ours to your moſt Rev. ' Lordſhip, and pray for your ' Happineſs. Given at *Milan*, ' on the 12th of *March*, 1525.

' FRANCIS, *D.* of Milan.'

† *This Blank, we ſuppoſe, was left to be filled up with the Sum ſtipulated for* Sforza.

*King* FRANCIS *the* Iſt's Oath.

' We *Francis*, by the Grace ' of GOD King of *France*, do ' promiſe on our Honour and ' Royal Word, and do ſwear ' by the Canon of the Maſs ' and holy Evangeliſts, by us ' now touched, that we ſhall ' maintain and cauſe to be main- ' tained, by our Kingdom, Coun- ' tries, Lordſhips, and Subjects, ' firmly and inviolably, the Trea- ' ty of Peace, Union, and Friend- ' ſhip, made and concluded on ' the 10th Day of the Month of ' *Auguſt* laſt paſt, by the Depu- ' ties, Proxies, and Commiſſaries ' of the moſt High and moſt ' Powerful Prince, our moſt dear, ' and moſt beloved Brother, and ' Couſin, the King of *England*, ' and the Ambaſſadors, Proxies, ' and Commiſſaries of us, and of ' our moſt dear and moſt beloved ' Lady and Mother.

' And further we ratify, ap- ' prove, and hold agreeable, all ' and every the Clauſes and Arti- ' cles, in all their Effects and ' Tenours, which are more at ' length declared in the ſaid re- ' ſpective Treaties, made and ' concluded between the Depu- ' ties aforeſaid; and the before- ' mentioned Ambaſſadors and ' Commiſſaries of us, and of our ' ſaid Lady and Mother, in this ' Behalf, bearing Date as above.

' And we ſwear, as before, to ' obſerve and inviolably keep ' each and every Article of the ' ſaid Treaties, without counter- ' veneing or infringing on any ' or either of them in any Shape ' or Manner whatſoever.

' In Teſtimony whereof we ' have ſigned theſe Preſents with ' our Hand, and cauſed our ſe- ' cret Seal to be fixed thereunto, ' at *Cognac*, the 10th Day of ' *May*, 1526.

' FRANCIS.'

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ing a Balance of Power in *Europe*, and not to keep ſo cloſe to either of thoſe great Powers, as to ſee the leſſer States ruined, which, by *Henry*'s Junction with them, would have been inevitably the Caſe: Is it not therefore highly to *Wolſey*'s Honour, that he adviſed his Maſter to keep clear of being too deeply engaged in the Affairs of foreign Princes, when *England* was not immediately concerned in Intereſt? And perhaps he had, in moſt of the Courts of *Europe*, more Influence than ever fell to the Share ſince, or will again, of any Premier Miniſter: For we find him for the Space of 12 Years (not to carry the Obſervation beyond the Time he was made Archbiſhop of *York*) preſiding at the Helm of Government, regulating Treaties of Peace and Commerce, the Operations of War and all publick Affairs, relating both to the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State, in a Manner that has not many if any Equals; all this while continuing in the good Graces of a Prince, not the moſt celebrated in Hiſtory, for a ſteady and conſtant Affection towards thoſe, whom he had ſometimes diſtinguiſhed as the peculiar Objects of his Favour.

*State of Religion.* 1526.

*Luther* finding the King, after the great Indignities that had been offered him, was not ſo eaſily mollified by a Submiſſion that carried in it only a Shew of Repentance, but in Fact was highly affronting to his Majeſty,* inaſmuch as it aimed to pierce him through

* *Luther*'s Sentiments and Epithets, in his *firſt* and *ſecond Letters*, in Anſwer to the King's Book, are ſo extraordinary, that we have given many of them a Place here.

'Nothing leſs than a glorious 'King plays the Orator!——— 'It was ſufficient the *new De-* '*fender* of the Church and the 'Deity, lately ſprouted up in '*England*, had ſaid ſo!——— 'When was it lawful to act 'the Buffoon with diſtinguiſhed 'Words, in an Affair ſo ſerious 'and ſacred?—— I, without a 'Maſk, openly do ſay, that 'this *Henry*, King of *England*, 'is a *Liar*, and that he has 'acted, by his Lies, more like 'a

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through his Minister's Sides, and charged him in effect with the Publication of a Book in his own Name, of which he was not the Author; which caused him to repent of writing this penitential * Letter;

'a *vain Jester*, than a King.—— 'Kingly Majesty, and my own 'Humility reproach me, while 'I speak to a *lying Scoffer*, 'screened with the Title of a 'King.—If the King be a *Fool*, 'he becomes forgetful of Royal 'Majesty, that he may appear 'to the Publick by his known '*Lies*, and that, while he treats 'of sacred Matters!——Why 'should it not be allowed beautiful in me, to cram those 'Lies down his Throat again? 'That, if he had conceived 'any Pleasure from his Lies against the Divine Majesty, the 'same may be short-lived by 'hearing the Truth against his 'own Majesty.———Lastly, 'The Intent of this King is so '*foolish*, that it is contrary to 'Common Sense.———These 'are the *foolish* and *ridiculous* 'Works of *Henry* and *Thomas* '*(Aquinas.)*——Restless *Satan* does this, that he might 'divert us from the Studies of 'the Scriptures, through the 'Means of cursed *Henrys*, *sacrilegious Thomists*, *&c.*——— 'These are my Guards, which 'strike *Henrys*, *Thomists*, *Papists*, and whatever there be of 'such like impious and sacrilegious Dregs, Rabble, and Jakes, 'speechless and dumb.—If he 'had erred like a Man, he 'should have been pardoned; 'but as this damnable *Corrupter* and *Reptile*, knowingly and 'wittingly, frames Lies against 'the Majesty of my Celestial 'King, it will be lawful for me, 'in Defence of my own King, 'to bespatter his *English* Majesty 'with Mud and Nastiness, and 'to trample this *blasphemous* 'Crown under my Feet.

* LUTHER *to* HENRY *the* VIIIth.

'Grace and Peace in *Jesus* '*Christ*, our Lord and Saviour, 'Amen.

'Though I deservedly ought 'to fear, most serene King and 'illustrious Prince, addressing 'your Majesty with my Letters, 'having been, as I am very conscious, most grievously offending to your Majesty in my 'Answer, which not of any 'Propensity of my own, but excited thereto by those who had 'no great Regard for your Majesty, I ignorantly and hastily 'published. However, your Majesty's Royal Clemency, the 'Encomiums whereof, which I 'daily receive in Writing, and also from a great many Travellers, 'gives me Hopes and Courage 'to believe, that when you acknowledge yourself to be mortal, you will cherish no immortal Enmities. I have also 'been informed, by very creditable Persons, that the Book 'published against me, with 'your Majesty's Name, was not 'wrote by the King of *England*, 'as those deceitful Sophisters 'would



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ter; upon which *Luther* declared he wrote it to gratify his Friends; in particular *Chriſtern*, King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Eraſmus*, who thought his Stile too ſevere, and wiſhed him to ſoften it;

'would have it, who abuſed 'your Majeſty's Title, without 'any Apprehenſion of the Pre'cipice they prepared for them'ſelves, by incurring your In'dignation, particularly that '*Monſter*, that *Object* of the 'publick Hatred both of God 'and Man, that *Peſt* of your 'Kingdom, the Cardinal of '*York*: I am now in the greateſt 'Confuſion, and even afraid to 'raiſe my Eyes before your Ma'jeſty, after having ſuffered my'ſelf, by the Levity of thoſe ma'lignant Operators, to be pro'voked againſt ſo great a King; 'I, who am but a Dreg, or a 'Reptile, and deſerve to be 'cloathed with nothing but Con'tempt or Neglect. I muſt add 'to theſe Conſiderations, that 'which ſeriouſly compels me, 'to mean to write, which is, 'that your Majeſty has began 'to favour the Goſpel, and to 'be not a little obnoxious to 'theſe Sort of loſt Men. This 'was News truly Evangelick, 'and joyful to me. Wherefore, 'with this Letter, I do in the 'moſt humble Manner I am 'capable of, proſtrate myſelf at 'your Majeſty's Feet, beſeech'ing and imploring your Ma'jeſty, by the Croſs and Glory 'of Chriſt, to vouchſafe me Par'don and Forgiveneſs of what'ever I have offended you in, 'as Chriſt has and commanded 'that we ſhould mutually for'give one another. Beſides, if 'it be not diſagreeable to your 'Majeſty, that I ſhould pub'lickly retract in another Book, 'what I have raſhly advanced, 'and pay due Reſpect to your 'Majeſty's Name, be graciouſly 'pleaſed to ſignify it to me; 'then I ſhall without Delay moſt 'willingly comply. Though I 'am as nothing, comparatively 'to your Highneſs, yet no ſmall 'Fruit may by this Means be 'hoped for, both to the Goſpel 'and the Glory of God, if 'Leave be granted me to write 'in Defence of the Goſpel to the 'King of *England*.

'In the mean Time, the Lord 'continue to encreaſe your Zeal, 'that you may, with the Ful'neſs of the Spirit, both obey 'and favour the Goſpel, and 'not ſuffer your royal Ears or 'Mind to be prejudiced by the 'peſtilential Voices of the *Mer'maids*, who breathe nothing elſe 'but That *Luther* is an Here'tick! Your Majeſty may weigh 'with yourſelf, what unſound 'Doctrine I am capable of 'broaching, who teach no other 'than Faith in *Jeſus Chriſt* the 'Son of God, through the Me'rits of whoſe Paſſion and Re'ſurrection we are to be ſaved, 'as the Goſpel and the Epiſtles 'of the Apoſtles teſtify. This is 'the Baſis and Foundation of my 'Doctrine, on which I after'wards build and teach Chari'ty

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it; he therefore resolved to take another Course: "For it was a foolish Thing (says he) to look for "Religion among Courtiers, or to expect that we "should find in royal Palaces the Spirit of *John the* "*Baptist.*" Notwithstanding his Sarcasm, there have been many *truly religious Courtiers.*

It has been pretty generally acknowledged, that *Luther* ought to have been more calm in his Polemical Pieces; and not doubted by any, that his intemperate Zeal did often Disservice to his Designs of *Reformation.*



'ty towards our Neighbours, 'Obedience to the Civil Ma'gistrates, and to mortify the 'Flesh, as the *Christian* Doctrine 'prescribes. What Evil can there 'be in this Doctrine? Let it 'be tried, heard, and judged 'first. Why am I declared 'guilty, or convicted without a 'Hearing? Is it because I tax 'the Abuse and Tyranny of the 'Popes, who teach a Doctrine 'quite different and contrary to 'the aforesaid Heads? Do not 'they indulge themselves with 'Pomp and Luxury? Do not 'they gripe at Kingdoms, Prin'cipalities, and the Riches of 'all? Do not the Vulgar both 'feel and condemn the same? 'And are not they themselves 'compelled to acknowledge it? 'Why do not they reform them'selves and teach true Doctrine, 'if they desire to be free from 'Hatred and Reproach? Your 'Majesty may see how many 'German Princes, and learned 'Men join with me; and, 'thank God, wish me Success. 'To which Number I desire 'that *Jesus* may add your Ma'jesty, and dissever you from 'those Tyrants of Souls. But 'what wonder is it, if the Em'peror and other Princes rage 'against me? *Do not*, as the 'second Psalm tells us, *the Hea'thens roar against the Lord and 'his Anointed, the People conspire 'against him, and the Kings 'and Princes of the Earth com'bine together?* So that it is to 'be admired, if any King or 'Prince should favour the 'Gospel.

'How much do I long, from 'the Bottom of my Heart, to 'congratulate with your Ma'jesty on such a Miracle, and 'that the Lord, who is pre'sent and consenting to these 'Lines, may co-operate with my 'Words, that the King of *Eng'land* may shortly be a perfect 'Disciple of *Christ*, and a Pro'fessor of the Gospel, as well 'as *Luther*'s most gracious Lord. 'An Answer, if it shall seem 'mete to your Majesty, I hum'bly expect.

'*Your Majesty's*
'*most obedient Servant,*
'MARTIN LUTHER.

'*Wirtemberg, Sept.* 1, 1525.'

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*Luther* and *Calvin* were not the only Zealots who had ſet up for *reforming* the Church: For there ſprung in *Germany* another Sect, whoſe Leader was *Thomas Muncer*, once a Prieſt and Follower of *Luther*; who, falling off from him, ſet up a new Opinion of his own; and, pretending to a more refined Revelation, drew after him no leſs than 30,000 of the Peaſantry, even promiſing to exempt them from paying Taxes to their Sovereigns, or Rent to their Landlords; which Multitude, in ſeveral Bodies, plundered the Country, and made great Havock; but at laſt many of them were, in ſeveral Battles, routed and cut to Pieces by the General of the League of *Suabia*. At firſt theſe were called *Muncerians*, after the Name of their Leader; ſuch of them as were taken Priſoners were publickly executed, in order to deter others from following their Examples; yet they were not totally deſtroyed, ſince there are at this Day a great many who were derived from them, in different Parts of *England*, tho' they follow not their Extravagances.

*Further Account of* Eraſmus.

We find *Eraſmus** was in *England* in the Beginning of the Year 1518, and in *May*, 1519, at *Antwerp*; and that, in one of his Letters to a young Nobleman at *Brabant*,

* We apprehend, now we are ſpeaking of *Eraſmus*, it will not be amiſs, for Brevity's Sake, here to annex what we propoſe further to ſay of him, in mentioning his learned Friends; which leads us firſt to take notice of another of the Rev. Dr. *Knight*'s Miſrepreſentations of the Cardinal, given in theſe Words: 'Leaving then theſe Foreigners, 'I proceed to ſpeak of an *Engliſh* Friend and Patron of *Eraſmus*'s, *viz. John Yonge*, L.L.D. 'Dean of *York*, and Maſter of 'the Rolls. This Perſon was 'a Publick Miniſter, and had 'been employed in ſeveral Embaſſies to foreign Courts with 'good Succeſs; though, it ſeems, 'he was no Favourite of Cardinal *Wolſey*'s, and therefore 'charged by him with ill Management, in his Negotiations 'in the Court of *France*, where 'he was ſent on a monitory 'Meſſage to King *Lewis*, requiring him to deſiſt from the 'War

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*Brabant*, he tells him, "He began now to repent, "that he had ever denied the earneſt Sollicitations "of Cardinal *Wolſey*, and his Patron the Lord *Mont-* "*joy*, who would have had him entered himſelf a "Courtier, and acknowledges he little thought our "Court would ever have arrived to ſo great Repu- "tation for its being the Seat of Learning; but "adds, it was now too late for him, Age and In- "firmities having made him uncapable of any ſuch "Happineſs."

He alſo wrote two moſt elegant Epiſtles to Cardinal *Wolſey* and the Lord *Montjoy*, upon the ſame Subject, wherein he particularly acknowledges the Favours they had ſeverally conferred on him.

*Thomas Hanibal*, one of the King's Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, in a Letter dated the 13th of *December*, 1522, informs Cardinal *Wolſey*, "That the Pope "had ſent for *Eraſmus* under a fair Colour by his "Brief, and if he come not, I think the Pope will "not be content." However *Eraſmus* declined going, and as ſome Authors ſay, his Reaſon for it was, that he well knew ſome of his Writings would bear a double Interpretation, and therefore it might poſſibly bring him into Trouble. Upon this *Eraſmus*, more cloſe than before, kept up his friendly Correſ-

'War againſt the Pope; the 'Cardinal giving no better Cha- 'racter of his Management than 'this, *Never Man had worſe Chear 'than he in* France, *and that he 'had done nothing touching the Mat- 'ter wherewith he was charged.* 'This was another of *Eraſmus*'s 'Friends under the Frowns of 'the Cardinal, though he had 'from others a very good Cha- 'racter, as an able Man, and a 'great Encourager of learned 'Men; an Inſtance of this we 'have, beſides his Generoſity 'to *Eraſmus*, in the Caſe of the 'learned *Grocyn*.' See *Life* of *Eraſmus*, p. 174.

This Account the Doctor pretends to have, by his Note in the Margin, from Dr. *Fiddes*'s Life of the Cardinal, p. 70, who ſays, 'The Almoner *(Wolſey)* 'proceeds to obſerve (in a Let- 'ter to Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Win- 'cheſter*) the ill Succeſs which 'the Maſter of the Rolls, Dr. '*John Yonge*, had found in his 'Nego-

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respondence with his Patrons in *England*, to whom, in several Epistles, he often recounts the Kindnesses he had received from them; many of whom were in the Cardinal's Service.

But notwithstanding *Erasmus* declined going to *Rome*, yet such was his Opinion of the great Learning of Pope *Leo*, that he inscribed his Work of the *New Testament* to him. This Work was so ill received by

' Negotiations in the Court of ' *France*, (*Herb.* p. 18, 19) ' where he was sent on a mo- ' nitory Embassage to *Lewis*, re- ' quiring him to desist from the ' War against the Pope. He ' writes, (that is, Dr. *Yonge*) ' *Never Man had worse Chear* ' *than he in* France, *and that* ' *he had done nothing touching the* ' *Matter wherewith he was* ' *charged*.' So that, according to *Fiddes*, Dr. *Yonge* wrote in that Manner to *Wolsey*, and not that *Wolsey* had given *Yonge* that Character to *Fox*: Nay, *Fiddes* corrects himself, in his *Collection*, (affixed to his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 7.) by giving us the Cardinal's own Words, ' The Master of the ' Rolls is coming to *Dover*: ' We look for him daily. He ' hath written hither, *That ne-* ' *ver Man had worse Chear than* ' *he in* France. Nothing has been ' done further than I wrote on ' to you in my last Letters, as ' touching his Charge.'

And further, in support of what we have said, it so falls out, Dr. *Yonge* was so far from being at Variance with Cardinal *Wolsey*, that, after the Doctor returned from his Embassy, he was, by *Wolsey*'s Recommendation, in the Year 1513, preferred to the Rectory of *Therfield*, in the Archdeaconry of *Huntingdon*; who died in the Year 1516, and by his Will bequeathed to the Cardinal a weighty Silver Cup, as a grateful *Memento* of the many Favours he had received from him. Whether therefore to place Dr. *Knight*'s Charge against *Wolsey* to *Design*, or *Inaccuracy*, we leave to the Publick.

Dr. *Yonge* was buried in the Chapel of the Rolls in *Chancery-Lane*, where a Monument is erected to his Memory, against the North Wall, with his Effigies in a scarlet Robe, his Head covered with a four-cornered Cap, and beneath it this Epitaph.

DOMINUS FIRMAMENTUM MEUM
JO. YONG LEGUM DOCTORI SACRORUM
SCRINIORUM, ET HUJUS DOMUS
CUSTODI; DECANO OLIM EBOR.
VITÆ DEFUNCTO XXV APRILIS,
SUI FIDELES EXECUTORES
HOC POSUERUNT. M.D.XVI.

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by ſome of the Divines of that Age, that it was remarked it had raiſed him more Enemies than any Thing he had written.

It is alſo evident, from many Paſſages in *Eraſmus*'s Works, that he had ſo great Eſteem for King *Henry* the VIIIth, that he vindicates his Title to the Kingdom of *France* againſt his Adverſary *Bredda*, who was angry that *Eraſmus* ſo much as mentioned it

The Doctor was the Son of *Thomas Yonge*, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the Court of *Common Pleas*, in the Reign of *Edward* the IVth. And from the Judge's eldeſt Son the preſent Right Hon. Sir *William Yonge*, Bart. *&c.* is deſcended. —— See *Engliſh Baronett.* Vol. III. p. 335, *&c.*

Other Friends to *Eraſmus*,

Cardinal *Pole*, to whom he wrote ſeveral Epiſtles.

*Stephen Gardiner*, whom he commends for his uncommon Share in Literature, as well as Capacity to ſerve his Country in the political Way.

Biſhop *Longland*, to whom he dedicated one of his Theological Pieces, looking on him as a Prelate of great Ability, and eſpecially in that Science.

Biſhop *Tunſtal* he accounted a very learned Man, whom he often mentions as one he highly valued, and from whom he had received many Favours.

Biſhop *Stokeſlie* he alſo mentions as a Prelate of great Learning, and one who adorned the *Engliſh* Court.

*Grocyn* he celebrates for his Indefatigableneſs in the Purſuit of Knowledge.

*Richard Bere*, Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, he frequently correſponded with.

*Eraſmus* reckons, among the Worthies of our Nation, *John Clark*, bred at *Oxford*, who had travelled Abroad, and, upon his Return to *England*, was made Secretary to the Duke of *Norfolk*; who, as well as the reſt of the Courtiers, he highly valued, being a Man of Letters.

*Sylveſter Giglis*, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, was one of his Patrons, and, as he reſided at *Rome* as the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, for a long Time, *Eraſmus* tells him, in one of his Epiſtles, 'That he 'wondered not he had ſo much 'Favour from *Henry* the VIIth, '*Henry* the VIIIth, and *Leo* the 'Xth, conſidering the many 'good Qualities in him, which 'muſt always recommend a Man 'to the Service of his Prince:' And commends him particularly for his publick Spirit, as well as ſingular Humanity.

*Leonard Cox*, D. D. bred at *Oxford*, he much eſteemed for his Learning, with whom he correſponded both at Home and Abroad.

*Thomas Bedel*, Secretary to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was one that he remarkably favoured; as was Dr.

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it in his Dedication to that Prince, prefixed before his Paraphraſe on St. *Luke*. He ſpoke of him often too, as a Prince of great Abilities of Mind, and every Way fitted for his high Station; and particularly expreſſed his Reſentment againſt the famous *Martin Luther*, and thoſe who would inſinuate, that the King did not pen the Book he publiſhed againſt the *Reformer*, declaring, " That he had known the King from a " Child,

Dr. *Wills*, one of the domeſtick Chaplains to the Archbiſhop.

*Henry*, Lord *Stafford*, only Son of the unfortunate Duke of *Buckingham*, who was a Nobleman of great Piety, Virtue, and Learning, and was eſteemed a finiſhed Scholar, early correſponded with *Eraſmus*, and wrote ſeveral Pieces both in Proſe and Verſe.

*Henry* the VIIIth, in the Year 1528, wrote *Eraſmus* a moſt affectionate Letter, inviting him over to *England*; aſſuring him, 'That he had many Years been 'an Admirer of his great Abi- 'lities, and was determined to 'promote true Religion in his 'Kingdom, in order to bring it 'back to its primitive Standard; 'that he was much concerned, 'leſt, being taken out of the 'Way, he ſhould want that Aſ- 'ſiſtance he did expect, and was 'ſure he was ready to afford him, 'in this his laudable Deſign.'

It appears plain, that *Eraſmus* did not return any Anſwer to this gracious Letter; for, in an Epiſtle to Sir *Thomas More*, we find this Paſſage, 'That 'amidſt the perplexing Circum- 'ſtances, which he was then in, 'his Majeſty's Invitation gave 'him great Satisfaction; but, 'alas! Things were ſo altered 'with him, that it would be- 'come him more to find out a 'Place for his Burial, where he 'might be at Reſt, ſince he de- 'ſpaired of it whilſt living.' And deſires Sir *Thomas* to make his Apology to the King, for not anſwering his Epiſtle; ſaying, 'He would not venture upon 'ſuch a Taſk, unleſs his Mind 'was quite free, and he could 'do it handſomely, becoming 'the Dignity of the Prince he 'wrote to.'

In 1537 his Patron, Archbiſhop *Warham*, died, upon which he expreſſed much Grief; and, when he ſpeaks of his Death, and the Advancement of Dr. *Lee* to the See of *York*, whom he eſteemed one of his greateſt Enemies, he ſays, 'Both Pieces 'of News were extreamly 'mortifying to him.' The Reaſon of *Eraſmus*'s Anger againſt *Lee* was this: The Doctor had not only made himſelf free in examining ſome of his Pieces, but expoſed them to the World; and, according to Dr. *Knight*, he ſo teazed *Eraſmus*, that he wrote to Biſhop *Fox*, 'to reſtrain him 'by his Authority from giving 'him any further Trouble;' and, his Patience being almoſt worn

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" Child, and how ſuſceptive he was of all Branches " of Learning, even the abſtruſe Parts of the Mathe- " maticks: That, after he came to be King, he em- " ployed his leiſure Hours in the improving him- " ſelf in good Literature: That the Alterations and " Interlineations in the King's Letters were wrote " with his own Hand: That the *Germans* indeed " looked upon him *(Eraſmus)* as the Author of the " King's

worn out, ſays, 'I wiſh he was 'not an *Engliſhman*, ſince he is 'a very Scandal to his Coun- 'try.' Nay, the Rev. Doctor gives his Hero up: 'For I can- 'not (ſays he, p. 219) but re- 'mark, that, if ever *Eraſmus* loſt 'his Temper, it was in this be- 'tween him and *Lee*; and, 'tho' he values himſelf at other 'times for his Patience, yet we 'find that here he quite loſt it.' Again, 'Eraſmus was ſo exaſpe- 'rated at the Uſage he met with 'from this Man, that he exag- 'gerates every Circumſtance of 'it, and treats him with all the 'Contempt imaginable, and as 'he thought he deſerved.' But the Doctor tells us, in another Place, 'That *Eraſmus* was an 'Under-match for Dr. *Lee*:' Yet he expreſſes ſome Surprize at *Eraſmus*'s being ſo uneaſy at what Dr. *Lee* had wrote; 'for 'that, upon examining of them, 'they were moſt of them wretch- 'ed Criticiſms, pretending to 'point out 300 Places, wherein '*Eraſmus* was miſtaken in his '*New Teſtament*, not deſerving 'an Anſwer from ſo learned a 'Writer.' Notwithſtanding this the Doctor (but two Pages before, *viz.* p. 287) had given *Lee* this Character; 'He was a great 'Divine, and very well ſeen 'in all kind of Learning; fa- 'mous as well for his Wiſdom, 'as Virtue and Holineſs of Life; 'a continual Preacher of the Goſ- 'pel; a Man very liberal to the 'Poor, and exceedingly beloved 'by all Sorts of Men, who great- 'ly miſſed and bemoaned the 'Want of him when dead.'

In the Year 1533 *Eraſmus* was at *Friburgh*; and about this Time, on publiſhing his *Expoſition of the 22d Pſalm*, he dedicated it to an *Engliſh* Nobleman.

Dr. *Knight* relates, that *Eraſmus* had a great Value for Queen *Catherine*; that he dedicated his Book of *Chriſtian Matrimony* to her; and that, in one of his Epiſtles, he commends her Daughter, the Princeſs *Mary*, for her *Latin* Epiſtles, as writ in a good Stile; as he did the Queen, not only for being one of the moſt pious, but alſo as one of the moſt learned Women of the Age: 'And '(ſays the Doctor) one of the 'many good Reaſons, why *E*- 'raſmus thought Cardinal *Wol*- 'ſey deſerved the Character he 'had left of him, in ſome of his 'later



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" King's Book againſt *Luther*, which might turn " more to his Account, if the *Engliſh* would be of " the ſame Opinion." Likewiſe, to ſupport what he alledges, he ſpeaks of many Letters he received from his Majeſty and Lord *Montjoy*, who would bear his Teſtimony of the ſame, one of which, we have introduced, Vol. I. fol. 372, 380.

*Eraſmus*, during the Time he reſided at *Baſil*, recommended *Hans Holbein*, the famous Painter, to the *Engliſh* Court, who, being introduced by the Cardinal, his Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with his Performance, that he took him into his Service; and hence he was called *Henry* the VIIIth's Painter. He alſo met with ſo great Encouragement from the whole Court, that he was fully employed, and his Paintings in

' later Epiſtles, we may preſume, ' was uſing this Princeſs ſo bar- ' barouſly.' But does not tell us in what Reſpect, and only gives us part of a Speech ſhe made to *Wolſey*.

As *Eraſmus* was now pretty well advanced in Years, his Friend *Sweating* wrote him a preſſing Letter, to come and ſettle in *Holland*, his own Country, and ſpend the Remainder of his Days in a religious Houſe. However, his Inclination did not lead that Way, being more for a free Life, having thereby a better Opportunity of converſing with his chief Delights, learned Men and Books, which under Confinement he could not ſo generally do: Therefore, after he left *England*, he firſt reſided at *Baſil*, and then proceeded to *Friburg*.

Whilſt he was at *Baſil*, he was choſen Rector of the Univerſity, where he took great Pains to reform every Thing he thought amiſs among the Students: ' But ' met with ſuch Returns (ſays ' Dr. *Knight*) as generally fall ' to the Share of *Reformers*, *Ha-* ' *tred* and *Oppoſition*:' Yet, when they fell to *Wolſey*'s Lot, for attempting the like Work, the *good-natured* Doctor reckoned he deſerved ſuch Treatment.

And further tells us, ' That ſome ' time before *Eraſmus*'s Death, Sir ' *Thomas More* and he had a ſort ' of a Diſpute concerning ſome ' Notions in Religion; in the ' Courſe of which Sir *Thomas* told ' him, " He was afraid he would " incur the Diſpleaſure of his " Superiors, Cardinal *Wolſey* and " others; and therefore begs him " to be more wary for the fu- " ture, leſt he ſhould prejudice " himſelf, and incur the Odium " of *Hereſy*."

But, having lived to ſee his Friend, Cardinal *Wolſey*, die in Diſ-

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in general were ſo highly approved of, that they were carefully preſerved, many of which are ſtill to be met with in ſeveral of the Royal Palaces, as well as in the Houſes of our Nobility and Gentry.

He kept a very cloſe Correſpondence with Biſhop *Fox*, whilſt he was carrying on the Building of *Corpus Chriſti* College in *Oxford*, for which he celebrates his Piety and Bounty in a Letter to Dr. *Claremond*, the firſt Preſident thereof.

*Eraſmus* was not made uneaſy Abroad only, in Relation to ſome of his Works; for we find he complains in one of his Letters, "That there was a "certain College in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, "where his Edition of the *New Teſtament* was not ſuf- "fered to come within its Walls:" And this he addreſſed



Diſgrace, Sir *Thomas More* and Biſhop *Fiſher* beheaded, the Beginning of the Year 1536, he perceived his Life was drawing to a Cloſe, which made him leave *Friburg*, where he had been ſome Time, and return to his old Companion, *Frobin*, the Printer, at *Baſil*; and, not long after his Arrival, he was ſeized with a ſevere Fit of the *Gout*, attended with Convulſions, which ſoon brought him into a low Condition: Then, taking notice that his moſt intimate Familiars were dead, ſays, *I deſire not, if it pleaſe the Lord, to live any longer:* So that, it ſeems, Life was now become quite indifferent to him.

In *June* following his other Diſtempers were accompanied with a violent Flux, which held above a Month, the very Diſtemper his old Friend, Cardinal *Wolſey*, died of. His Senſes and Speech remained to the laſt, and, breathing out his Soul in ſeveral pious Ejaculations, he departed this Life the 12th of *July*, 1536, having lived 70 Years, 8 Months, and 15 Days. ——— Thus finiſhed the Courſe of this truly great and learned Man, whoſe Works will make his Name immortal. He was interred in the Cathedral Church at *Baſil*, attended both by the Members of the Univerſity and the Citizens, in a Chapel ſacred to the Virgin *Mary*, under a Monument of Porcean Marble; and, near adjoining to the Monument is a Buſt of the God TERMINUS, with theſe Words,

DES. ERASMUM ROTERODAMUM, AMICI, SUB HOC SAXO CONDEBANT, QUARTO IDUS JULIAS,

M.D.XXXVI.

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dreſſed to the famous Dr. *Bullock*, * of *Queen's*, for whom he had a great Value.

*Further Account of the Univerſity of Oxford.*

In this Year a great Diſpute aroſe between the *Benedictines* and *Ciſtertians*, about ſome Philoſophical Queſtions ventilated in their Schools, which from Arguments ended in Blows, and the latter, being ſorely beaten, were glad to take Shelter within the Walls of their College. However, the *Benedictines* did not remain long in Poſſeſſion of their Victory, before they were proſecuted in the Vice-chancellor's Court, and fined; Treatment which ſo provoked them, that, by the Perſuaſion of Alderman *Haines*, ſome time before Mayor, whoſe Houſe ſome Scholars had fired, they reſolved to kill the Proctors. Accordingly they met at *Haines*'s Houſe in the City, and, when the Proctors were going their Rounds in the Night, they iſſued out and fell upon them; but were defeated in their Deſign, thro' the ſtout Defence the Proctors made; and the Citizens, hearing the Swords claſh, got out of their Beds, run to their Aſſiſtance, diſperſed the Rioters, and then conducted the Proctors to a Place of Safety.

The next Morning three of them were apprehended with the Alderman, and impriſoned, as well for this as another Offence of the like Nature. The Alderman, according to the Sentence paſſed againſt him, was baniſhed the City, but, upon expreſſing hearty Sorrow and Repentance, he was permitted to return. Notwithſtanding, he grew into Contempt daily with his

* This great Divine made and delivered the elegant Oration, we have exhibited in Vol. III. fol. 124. He was one of *Eraſmus*'s familiar Friends. In 1507 he was admitted a Fellow of *Queen's-College*, *Cambridge*, Dr. *John Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, being then Preſident. In 1520 he commenced Doctor in Divinity, and was choſen Vice chancellor in 1524-5. His Abilities were ſo ſuperlative, that he was ſingled out on many Occaſions for the publick Service; and, we think, his Oration ſhews him to have been a Gentleman of very diſtinguiſhed Parts,

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his Neighbours, which cauſed him to leave *Oxford*, and ſoon after he died very poor.

*The Cardinal's Care of* Magdalen *College.*

After this Combuſtion a great Diſturbance aroſe in *Magdalen* College, about the Election of their Preſident, which being made known to the Cardinal, he ſo far interpoſed his good Offices, that he ſoon compromiſed their Differences, and appointed one to preſide over them, who was ſo acceptable to the whole Body, that they ſent *Wolſey* a Letter full of Acknowledgments for the Favours he had done them, and, promiſing to bury in Oblivion paſt Grievances, concluded thus. "* We there- "fore lay aſide our hoſtile Deſigns; we curſe the War! "we condemn Arms! Outrages have ſo grieved "us, that we now would prefer the moſt bitter Pu- "niſhment, ſooner than to fall again into ſuch a Pit. "However, ſuch is the Weakneſs of Men, that "ſometimes they will plunge into manifeſt Dangers: "The Ship-wrecked Sailor, having refitted his Ship, "returns to Sea again; and, tho' overcome, often pro- "vokes his victorious Enemy to Battle. But your "moſt circumſpect Prudence has ordained ſuch a "Man to preſide over us, that, from his known "Wiſdom and Moderation, we hope for the future, "as our hurried Minds are ſtill full of the Thoughts "of this Madneſs, which make us tremble, "hereafter all Motives of diſagreeing will be re- "moved and brought to nothing. For, not to ſum "up all the Qualities of his Mind and Body, "which we have experienced in this ſhort Time he "has been with us, he neglects nothing that may "conduce to the eſtabliſhing, confirming, and ren- "dering perpetual, this Unity and Peace among us, "which was lately begun under your auſpicious In- "fluence. He treats all equally with wonderful Po- "liteneſs and Humanity, and ſtudies to attach them "to

* See *Concil. Mag. Britan. & Hib.* T. 3, f. 655.

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" to himſelf, for no other Reaſon, as plainly ap-
" pears, than that, when we are firmly wedded to
" him, he may be linked to all, as the Head to
" the Members in one and the ſame Body, by an
" indiſſolvable Tie. Let your infinite Goodneſs con-
" tinue to procure for us ſuch Men; let it continue,
" by doing Good, to outdo itſelf; and let it continue
" incredibly to deſerve the Applauſes of *Virtue* and
" *Learning*, as if there never had been any before
" now, but had received their Beginning from you.
" God grant *your Majeſty* a long and proſperous
" Life."

Although the Fomenters of the Tumults, we have laſt mentioned, were treated by the Univerſity with the utmoſt Lenity, ſome turbulent Spirits, among the Citizens of *Oxford*, attempted again to diſturb its Repoſe, on a Suppoſition that the Charter, procured by *Wolſey*, was become obſolete, which they did as before by firſt aſſaulting the Scholars in the publick Streets, wherein one was killed after a ſtout Reſiſtance. Upon this and other Troubles that enſued, the Univerſity ſent a ſpecial Meſſenger to lay before the *Cardinal*, their conſtant and generous Patron, the State of the Caſe. Upon this, the Charter we ſpoke of in our IIId Vol. p. 147, was ordered more ſtrictly to be put in Execution, which had a good Effect, a brief Extract of which we have here introduced.*

The

* *Henry* the VIIIth, at the Sollicitation of *Thomas Wolſey*, Arch-biſhop of *York*, has granted, *&c.* to the Chancellor and Scholars of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, &c.

THAT the Chancellor, Commiſſary, and his Deputy be Maintainers and Juſtices of the Peace within the ſaid City, Suburbs, and the four next Hundreds.—That they be Juſtices of the Peace, by Privilege, in the Counties of *Oxford* and *Berkſhire*.—That they have the ſame Power as any other Juſtices in the Kingdom of *England*, ex-

except

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The Univerſity of *Oxford* at this Time wrote a moſt pompous Letter (now to be ſeen in *Concil. Mag. Brit. & Hib.* T. 3, f. 709) to Cardinal *Wolſey*, extolling his Merit

*The Univerſity's Letter to* Wolſey.

cept in *Mahemio*, * and *Felony*. —That they may appoint and conſtitute Juſtices of the Peace for the King.—That they may appoint other Juſtices for all Manner of Crimes, Murders, Felonies, *&c.*—That they may hear and determine among themſelves, *&c.*—That neither the Mayor of the Town, nor any Juſtice of *England*, ſhall intermeddle with any priviledged Perſon, *&c.* —That in ſuch Caſe a Superſedeas ſhall iſſue directed to the Mayor, Juſtice, Commiſſary, or any other Perſon whatſoever, *&c.* — That they have their own Goals to confine and puniſh, *&c.* — That one of the Univerſity Juſtices do conſtantly attend ſome Goal in the Town or Suburbs of *Oxon.*—That the Sheriffs of *Oxfordſhire* and *Berkſhire* do make Returns to the Univerſity Juſtice; and that they do execute and attend the Execution of his Warrants, *&c.* on the Forfeiture of 200 *l.* — That they have all Fines, Amercements, and Forfeitures whatſoever, *&c.* Whether by Briefs, Premunires, *&c.* incurred by Statutes hereafter to be made relating to Scholars and priviledged Perſons.—That they have Waſtes, Deodands, and Treaſures diſcovered, of Felons, Out-laws, Fugitives, Criminals, condemned, and to be condemned, Felons *per ſe*, and Felons in Execution, within the City of *Oxford*, and Suburbs thereof, *&c.* — The Labour. —All that may belong to the King.—That the Chancellor, Scholars, Servants, *&c.* and all thoſe who ſerve them, Officers, Farmers, Tenants, be unmoleſted and exonerated from all manner of Prizes, Chimney-money, Captions, Carriages, Horſes, *&c.* and likewiſe from Bread-corn, *&c.* Cows, *&c.* and from all manner of Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, *&c.*—That none of the Buyers of Prizes, or Captions, or Proviſions for the King's Palace, or any other Miniſter, ſhall enter to buy within 20 Miles of the ſaid Univerſity, without the Chancellor's Leave, *&c.*—For the Renewal of any Indictments before any other Juſtice by a Certificate from the Chancellor, *&c.* relating to the Privileges, *&c.* — That the Proceſs and Execution on ſuch Indictments are to be ſuperſeded on the Penalty of 40 *l.* —That the ſaid Indictments are to be heard and determined before the Chancellor, *&c.* — That any Indictment, remaining in any Court by a *Certiorari*, is to be ſuperſeded and delivered at the Chancellor's Requeſt, on the Penalty of 40 *l.* — That ſuch Iſſues, Pro-

* *Which ſignifies any Corporeal Hurt, whereby a Man loſeth the Benefit of any Member, that might be of Uſe to him in Battle.*

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Merit and Magnificence, Part of which is as follows:

"And this ONE THING, says the University to "*Wolsey*, which we have at present undertaken to "set

Profits, Fines, Amercements and Forfeitures whatsoever, be for the Use and Benefit of the University for ever.——That all Persons arrested and imprisoned, Complaint being made thereof, are to be heard, and the Cause to be determined by the Chancellor of the University.——That it is not lawful for the Mayor or any of the King's Justices, or Commissaries to commense Suit upon any Indictment, after the Chancellor or his Justices had taken Cognizance thereof, on the Penalty of 40*l.*——That they enjoy all the Liberties and Privileges heretofore, as well as at present granted to the University.——That the Chancellor do issue out his Mandate, or Precepts, for summoning of the Frank-pledge View.———That they make a common *Penfold*, or Park, for Districtions, and to have all the Profits arising therefrom. —— Any priviledged Person arrested or imprisoned within the Kingdom of *England*, after Notice thereof being given to the Chancellor, shall be immediately discharged without Fees, on the Penalty of 10*l.*——That the Persons priviledged may trade and exercise manual Arts within the City and Suburbs of *Oxford*, as Burgesses.——That the Persons priviledged be free and exonerated from all manner of Contributions paid to the Mayor or others, for their Freedoms.——That the Chancellor and his Society may form Corporations, make Laws and Statutes, obliging the Observance of them by Penalties, notwithstanding other Statutes to the contrary.——That they may receive their own stolen Goods and Chattels, though they should be claimed by the Sheriff, or any other Officer.——That the Chancellor, *&c.* be not carried out of the University upon any false Judgment, or be vexed or disturbed for the same.——On this Condition, to obey the Summons of the Procurators, according to the Statutes and Ordinances, on the Penalty of 20*l.* to be forfeited to the University, *&c.*—— That the Chancellor and the Mayor jointly, and not separately, may assess for Fifteenths and Tenths, *&c.*——That the Chancellor, his Commissary, or Deputy, and not the Mayor, or any other Commissary, do tax the priviledged Persons.—— That the Chancellor by his Ministers do collect the Money so assessed, being deputed by Indenture delivered to them for that Purpose.——For any other Assessment, the Chancellor together with the Prefident and Keeper of *Wincheſter* College, are to assess the Persons priviledged, *&c.*———This Charter and Privileges grant fully to the said University to pardon all Crimes.—— If this Charter should

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" ſet forth, is your Diligence and Care to deſerve " well of all Mankind. This eminent Virtue we never " can ſufficiently Reverence; eſpecially when, after " having obtained ſo many great Honours, ſuch as " ſcarce any of your Predeceſſors ever had, you ſtill " continue your Adminiſtration ſo ſollicitouſly, you " ſo conſtantly ſtudy the Intereſt of the Common- " wealth, that you never can ceaſe to be advantage- " ous to her in all Times: So that the Honours al- " ready acquired, the Allurements of the greateſt " Riches, nor, laſtly, the Ambition of any worldly " Eaſe, can unbend your ſtrenuous Mind, or ever ſeem " to be able to ſlacken your Zeal, from executing, " with the utmoſt Diligence and Happineſs, what- " ever tended or related to the Benefit of the Publick: " And, being elate neither with Honours, Riches, or " any other fading Pomp, but always employed in " forwarding and diſcharging the moſt arduous Af- " fairs, you have ſought unperiſhable Glory from " God alone, which is the chiefeſt Wiſdom.

The

ſhould ſeem leſs valid and inſufficient, that the Chancellor of *England* may render them ſtronger for their Benefit, without any Proſecution therefrom of the King, his Heirs, or Succeſſors.— That theſe Letters, and all other Charters granted to the Univerſity, in general Terms, be of the ſame Force and Virtue, as if more eſpecially and particularly ſpecified.— That theſe Letters be read and explained in the beſt and moſt favourable Manner for them. — That they may have and enjoy all theſe Privileges, *&c.* and all others heretofore granted to them for ever. — That they have and enjoy full Cognizance of all Cauſes, Matters, Complaints, and Pleas whatſoever, Pleas of Free Tenements only excepted, if one Part thereof be priviledged, though it ſhould concern the King or his Heirs.— That they have and receive all the Amercements, Iſſues, Forfeits, and Profits coming there from, for the Uſe and Benefit of the Univerſity.— That no Juſtice, Judge, or any of the King's Officers, or of his Succeſſors, within the Kingdom of *England*, ſhall intermeddle with the Diſputes relating to the Perſons priviledged. — And, if they ſhould preſume to interfere, that the ſame be ſuperſeded on the Chancellor's Certificate. —— After ſuch Certificate the Chancellor of the ſaid Univerſity is not to anſwer to them.— That theſe Letters be delivered without any Fee. Witneſs, the King, *&c.*



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The obtaining of the Charter, we have been ſpeaking of, was not the laſt Favour the Cardinal ſhewed to the Place where he was Educated; for, in the Year 1528, there was a conſiderable Law-ſuit, as well as other Diſputes, between the Univerſity and City, which were at laſt compromiſed thro' *Wolſey*'s Interpoſition: So that, before his Diſgrace and Death,* the Stu-

* As we here propoſe to cloſe what we think proper to mention concerning the Cardinal's Care of the Rights and Privileges of the Univerſities, we ſhall add the following Extracts.

Soon after the Cardinal's Diſgrace and Death the aforeſaid noble Charter was totally neglected, and lay dormant in the *Exchequer*; and ſuch was the King's Anger againſt his Miniſter, that he ſeemed, by ſeveral Acts, deſirous of deſtroying the very Remembrance of his late Favourite's conſtant Application for the Encouragement of Learning; for, upon the King's reſtoring, in the Year 1543, to that learned Body their Charters, which he had got into his Hands, he expreſly required a Recognizance of one thouſand Pounds from the Commiſſary, not to aſſume or claim any Privileges granted to them by that which was called WOLSEY'S CHARTER: And hereon Dr. *Ayliffe* obſerves, 'That the King intended to revoke all Charters and Bulls 'granted by Popes, being anxious to extirpate the papal Power; but then he ratified all the 'Rights and Privileges from thence accruing by Virtue of 'his own Royal Authority, and 'called them the *Antient Rights* 'of the Univerſity.'

From this Period the Face of Learning in *Oxford* was greatly eclipſed for a Time, occaſioned as well through the frequent Sickneſs that had viſited it, as the Fall of Cardinal *Wolſey*, *who*, as Dr. *Ayliffe* candidly owns, *ſpared no Coſt or Pains to advance good Letters to the Summit of Perfection.*

But in the Year 1566 Q. *Elizabeth* did the Univerſity the Honour of a Viſit, who was highly delighted with her Reception and Entertainment; nor was her Majeſty backward in aſſuring that zealous Society, how much ſhe had their Intereſt at Heart, which ſhe would be always ready to promote and encourage; in Teſtimony whereof, ſoon after her Return to *London*, the glorious Charter, which *Wolſey* had procured, and her Sire had forbid the Uſe of, was tranſmitted to *Oxford*, and ordered to be duly obſerved. This Royal Viſit was aſcribed to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, their Chancellor, who took great Pains to reform the many Abuſes that had crept into the Univerſity.

The Queen, to ſhew ſhe had an equal Value for both Univerſities, was pleaſed to grant a Charter to *Cambridge*, containing the ſame Privileges that *Oxford* enjoyed, by that above-mentioned; and, in the 13th Year of her Reign, an Act

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Students were again peaceably purſuing their Studies, agreeable to the Intentions of their ſeveral glorious Founders; and the Citizens, who had cauſed Diſturbances in the Univerſity and City, were quietly returned to, and following their different Trades and Callings; which had ſo happy a Conſequence, that, before the Expiration of the Year 1530, the Face of Affairs, both

Act of Parliament paſſed, in relation to the ſeveral Corporations in the two Univerſities, and the Confirmation of the Charters, Liberties, and Privileges granted to either of them, whereby it was enacted, 'That the Chancellor 'of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and 'his Succeſſors for ever; and the 'Maſters and Scholars of the 'ſame for the Time being, ſhould 'be incorporated by the Name 'of the Chancellor, Maſters, 'and Scholars of the ſaid Uni'verſity, and by none other 'Name or Names ſhall be called 'and named for evermore; and 'that they ſhall have a Common 'Seal to ſerve their neceſſary 'Cauſes, concerning the ſaid 'Chancellor, Maſter, and Scho'lars, and their Succeſſors.' And the ſame Privileges were likewiſe granted to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; both Univerſities being thereby ſeverally impowered to implead and be impleaded, ſue and be ſued, for all Manner of Cauſes, *&c.* And the Act particularly confirmed the above Letters Patent granted by *Henry* the VIIIth, thro' *Wolſey*'s Procurement, to the Chancellor, *&c.* of *Oxford*, and likewiſe thoſe granted by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, on the ſame Foot with that of *Oxford*, as well as all other Letters Patent, granted by any of the Progenitors or Predeceſſors of the Queen to either Univerſity, as if they were ſet down *verbatim* in the ſaid Act. And ſince at different Times there has, if we may ſo term it, aroſe a *glorious Emulation* in our Princes, in regard to the ſupporting and encouraging the two Univerſities, which hath cauſed them to be in the flouriſhing Condition we now ſee them; and it is our hearty Deſire, *That they may ſo continue, in Honour to our Nation, to the End of Time.*

The Buildings of *Oxford* in general, are ſaid to exceed moſt in Chriſtendom, and the Colleges are allowed to be the greateſt with reſpect to the Largeneſs of their Endowments, and ſuch is their Fame, that the following Epithets have been beſtowed on them, *Univerſity* College is the oldeſt, *Pembroke* the youngeſt, *Chriſt Church* the greateſt, *Lincoln* the leaſt, *Magdalen* the neateſt, *Wadham* the moſt uniform, *New* the ſtrongeſt, and *Jeſus* the pooreſt. *New* College is for the Southern, *Exeter* for the Weſtern, *Queen's* for the Northern, *Brazen-Noſe* for North-weſtern Men; *St. John's* for *Londoners*, *Jeſus* for *Welchmen*; and at the other Colleges Students from all Countries



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both with regard to Learning and Induſtry, began to bear a very favourable Aſpect.

On *Shrove-tueſday* there was ſolemn Juſts at *Greenwich*, between the King and others on the one Part, and the Marquis of *Exeter* on the other; at which, by the Miſchance of a Spear's ſhivering, Sir *Francis Brian* loſt one of his Eyes.

*Church Zeal. Dr.* Barnes *and others do Penance.*

On the 11th of *February*, four Merchants of the *Steel-yard* did Penance at *Paul's Croſs*, for eating Meat on a *Friday*; the famous Dr. *Barnes* was condemned in the Spiritual Court to do Penance, for certain Hereſies alledged againſt him, by bearing a Faggot at *Paul's Croſs*, which he accordingly did in the Preſence of Cardinal and 11 Biſhops; and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* upon this Occaſion preached a Sermon, which was chiefly levelled againſt *Luther*, and the Doctrines he had lately advanced.

*Affairs relating to the City of* London. 1526.

This Summer there had like to have been a great Diſturbance in the City of *London* on the following Miſconduct: An Act paſſed in the 4th Year of this King, *That no Stranger ſhould bring in Wine or Wood in any Alien's Ship*; on which the *Engliſh* went to *Tholouſe*, and brought much *Wood* to *London*; but, notwithſtanding the late Act, through the Means of ſome Gentlemen about the King, divers Strangers ob-

reſide indifferently; *Merton* is renowned for Schoolmen, *Corpus Chriſti* for Linguiſts, *Chriſt Church* for Poets, *All-Souls* for Orators, *New* for Civilians, *Brazen Noſe* for Diſputants, *Queen's* for Metaphyſicians, *Exeter* for a long Series of *Regius Profeſſors*, *Magdalen* formerly, and *St. John's* latterly for eminent Prelates. The Library equals any in *Europe*; and very much exceeds moſt in *Great-Britain*, ſtanding as a *Diana* among the Nymphs.

It is ſaid of *Cambridge*, that the Building is the chief Credit of that County, and that ſhe may be called a Town in a Univerſity, as *Oxford* is a Univerſity in a Town: But, as the Colleges in *Cambridge* are more ſeparated from the Town than at *Oxford*, they have better Conveniencies for *Walks* and *Gardens*.

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obtanied Licences to bring in Cheſnut *Wood* upon foreign Bottoms: So that not only *London*, but the Country too was full of their *Wood*, whereby the *Cheſnut Wood* became of little or no Value. Upon this Sir *John Alleyn*, the Lord Mayor, ſent for the Chief of the foreign Merchants, and repreſented to them, "That they had gained conſiderably by "the City, and therefore willed them not to ſell "their *Wood* in the Country, but to the *Londoners*, "who would pay them inſtantly; for that, by their "Proceedings, they greatly hurt the *London* Mer-"chants."—The Strangers, ſays *Grafton*, proudly anſwered, "They would ſeek every Place for their "Advantage, and in a mocking Manner departed "from the Mayor." The Lord Mayor upon this called a Common Council in *Auguſt*, and there Complaints were brought againſt the foreign Merchants; on which an Act of Common Council paſſed, whereby it was enacted, "That no Citizen ſhould buy or "ſell in any Place, nor exchange or meddle with "certain Strangers, called *Anthony Bonvice*, *Laurence* "*Bonvice*, *Anthony Vivald*, *Anthony Caveler*, *Francis* "*de Bard*, *Thomas Calmecant*, and ſeveral others there-"in named, upon Pain of loſing the Freedom and "Liberty of the City of *London*." And this had ſo good an Effect, "That the Strangers were ſo bridled, "they came to a reaſonable Concluſion.

This Year was likewiſe remarkable in *London*, according to our Hiſtorian, for that, on *Michaelmas-Eve*, *Thomas Hind*, who was elected Sheriff, was called to take upon him the Office; but he made Default. *

Upon

* This might be the Practice then, but it is now altered, for, upon their Election on *Midſummer-day*, they are obliged ſoon after to give Bond to ſerve the Office, or ſhew Cauſe why they refuſe it, that the Citizens, in caſe the Cauſe is allowed, may have Time before *Michaelmas* to elect others in their ſtead.

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Upon this *Simon Rice*, *Mercer*, was choſen, who refuſed to ſerve the Office: Then was one *George Robinſon* elected, who ſwore he was not qualified. This put the Citizens in the Common Hall into ſuch a Fury, that they declared they would have a *Mercer* for Sheriff. On which *Nicholas Lambert*, Eſq; one of the Aldermen and a *Grocer*, who had a Diſpenſation from ſerving the Office of Sheriff for a Year, ſeeing the Commotions that were likely to enſue, roſe up and ſpoke to the Citizens, *Gentlemen, although my Time is not come to ſerve the Office of Sheriff; yet, for the Quiet of the City, if you will chuſe me, I am ready to take upon me the Office*; which one and all they thankfully did, and by that Means the Peace of the City was preſerved.*

*The Cardinal reforms the Houſhold of the King.* 1526.

As ſome Abuſes had crept into the King's Houſhold, the Cardinal in the Month of *October*, came to the King's Court, which was held at *Eltham*, and took Orders for reforming and ſettling the State of his Majeſty's Houſhold; when many Officers, and other Servants who were grown old in the Service, were diſcharged and allowed Penſions during their Lives; 64 Yeomen of the Guard, who were likewiſe grown old, were alſo diſcharged and allowed Half-pay. He alſo ſettled the Houſholds of the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Princeſs *Mary*, which he did in ſo regular a Manner, that he gave great Satisfaction to them all.

*Hall*

* A like Caſe happened a few Years ſince, the City of *London* being again ſomewhat put to it for a fit Perſon to ſerve the ſaid Office, when a Name-ſake of this worthy Alderman's was prevailed on to take that Truſt upon him, which alſo contributed much towards preſerving the Peace of the City. This was done by that generous Gentleman, *Daniel Lambert*, Eſq; who has ſince not only been elected *Alderman*, but filled the Chair, as *Lord Mayor*, in the Year 1741, with great Reputation; and is now one of their worthy Repreſentatives in Parliament.

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*Hall* affirms, "That the Cardinal on this Occa-"sion made many Orders for the better Government "of all Things committed to his Care, which were "several Years after called the *Statutes* of *Eltham*; "and, as some said, were more profitable than ho-"nourable."—*Ill will speaks well of no Body.*

The King, by the Advice of his Council, issued a Proclamation against *unlawful Gaming*, and Commissions were sent into every County for the Execution of the same: So that in many Places *Tables*, *Dice*, *Cards*, and *Bowls* were burnt.

But *Stow* tells us, "The young Men were "so dissatisfied, that they took to Drinking, others "to stealing Rabits and Deer in Parks, and other "Unthriftiness."

*Is intrusted with the Care of the Coin.*

It being observed, that great Quantities of Silver were carried out of the Kingdom, his Majesty was pleased to raise the *Noble* from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 7*s.* 4*d.* and afterwards to 7*s.* 6*d.* whereby every Ounce of *Sterling* Silver was worth 3*s.* 9*d.* yet it did not answer what was proposed, on account that the Value of Money was still raised beyond Sea; wherefore the King granted to the Cardinal a discretional Power to alter the Valuation thereof from time to time, as he should see Cause, which had a very good Effect; for his Eminency took proper Care to keep our Coin upon a Standard with other Nations, and prevented its being carried clandestinely Abroad.*

The Cardinal also, as it is presumed, with the King's Leave, erected two Mints for Coining of Money, one at

* In *Edward* the IIId's Time, Persons attended at *Dover*, to receive the Passengers Money, to exchange it for foreign Specie, which prevented the current Coin's being carried out of the Kingdom: And it has been remarkable, that the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Russians*, by keeping their Exchanges above the Valuation of their Money, acted a more politick Part than we have done upon several Occasions.

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at *York*, and the other at *Durham*, which were very uſeful to that Part of the Country; and Dr. *Fiddes* exhibits at the End of the Introduction to his Work, Prints of certain Coins from *Wolſey*'s different Preſſes, each of which bear the Cardinal's Hat, with the initial Letter of his Name.

*And greatly encourages Trade and Navigation.*

The Cardinal, beſides his great Paſſion for the encouraging of Learning, likewiſe took incredible Care, during the whole Courſe of his Adminiſtration, to promote the *Trade* and *Navigation* of the Kingdom, well knowing, that from thence Riches and Plenty naturally flow; and therefore he adviſed his Majeſty to ſend out Ships, in order to make new Diſcoveries in the then unknown Parts of the World; which induced the King to ſend an Exhortation to *Robert Thorn*, who had been for ſome Years in the *Indies*, under his Majeſty's Protection and Encouragement, to proceed in his Enterprize, which partly laid the Foundation for thoſe great Diſcoveries that were afterwards made in the ſucceeding Reigns: So that we may juſtly reckon the Cardinal among the Worthies that were inſtrumental in beginning the *Britiſh* Empire in *America*, from which we, at this Day, reap ſo great Benefit.

*The Cardinal oppoſed, upon his ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries.*

*Wolſey*, in his Proceedings to ſuppreſs the leſſer Monaſteries, according to the Power he was intruſted with, both from the See of *Rome* and the King, was oppoſed. When the Monaſtery of *Bogham* in *Eſſex* was on the Point of being ſuppreſſed, certain People, who appeared in a ſtrange and frightful Diſguiſe, after the Canons were removed out of the Monaſtery, waited upon them and conducted them back in a pompous Manner, and, according to their Form, reinſtated them in the Monaſtery, and withal promiſed to come at any Time to their Relief, upon the Signal of ringing the Abbey-bell, in caſe

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caſe of Interruption from any one. However, they were ſoon diſappointed in their Projects; for the King, receiving Intelligence of their refractory Behaviour, ſent for the Canons, who were ſo ſtrictly examined in Council, that they at laſt confeſſed who they were that had appeared and undertaken this Oppoſition; whereupon they were ſecured and puniſhed, and this Monaſtery ſhared the ſame Fate with the others, whoſe Revenues were appropriated for the Purpoſe before-mentioned.

*The Affair relating to the* Holy Maid *of* Kent.

This Matter had not long been quieted, but a Female Impoſtor, called *The Holy Maid of Kent*, * ſtarted up,

* *Elizabeth Barton*, Servant Maid, of *Aldington* in *Kent*, was viſited with a tedious Sickneſs, which in time threw her into Convulſion *Fits*, and thoſe into a Sort of Trance, in which ſhe uttered many frantick Expreſſions, that would very often bear prophetical Conſtructions: Of theſe the Pariſh Prieſt made a Handle, and immediately carried an improved Report thereof to Archbiſhop *Warham*, who liſtened to it, and ordered the Parſon to watch well what ſhe might further ſay. With this Incouragement, *Maſter*, for that was the Prieſt's Name, returned to the Girl, and took no ſmall Pains to inſtruct and perſuade her to ſet up for a new Propheteſs, and become a Nun in *St. Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, which ſhe accordingly did. After ſhe had acted her Part there awhile, ſhe pretended to be very ill, and, at *Maſter*'s Inſtigation, gave out, that the Virgin *Mary* had appeared and revealed to her, that ſhe never ſhould recover till ſhe had viſited our Lady's Chapel in *Aldington* Pariſh: This was ſhrewdly calculated to anſwer Parſon *Maſter*'s Deſign of drawing Pilgrims to viſit the ſame. Purſuant to her Requeſt ſhe was carried thither, where ſhe ſoon ſeemingly recovered, which made a very great Noiſe abroad. At length her firſt Tutor, joined with one of his Concerts, worked her into ſuch a dexterous Knack of deceiving, that ſhe gained great Credit for her Sanctity, and became ſtill more famous, inſomuch that Archbiſhop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, Biſhop *Fiſher*, as well as many of the lower Claſs of Eccleſiaſticks, and Numbers of the Laity, were led away by her Agitations and prophetick Sayings: Nay, ſhe had the Subtilty and Aſſurance to join with the Cry of the Times, inveighing bitterly not only againſt *common Vices*, but ſpared not the King and his Favourite, *Anna Bulleyn*, by foretelling his utter Deſtruction, in caſe he purſued his intended Separation and Di-



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up, pretending to be inſpired from Heaven in a moſt extraordinary Manner; but the whole, when ſearched into,

vorce, uſing theſe Words, That he ſhould not after his Divorce be a King one Day, nor one Hour, and that he ſhould die a villanous Death; and further, that there was a Root with three Branches, and till they were plucked up it ſhould never be merry in *England*: Interpreting the Root to be the Cardinal, and the three Branches the King and the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, before *England* could do well. But at laſt his Majeſty, frequently hearing of theſe repeated Extravagances and Inſults, cauſed her to be apprehended, and ſhe was ſoon brought with ſome of her Confederates to an Examination, Trial, Conviction and Execution. In the 25th of *Hen.* VIII. an Act of Attainder paſſed againſt her and her Accomplices; and from the wording of the Act it is very probable ſome Cenſure would have gone againſt Archbiſhop *Warham*, had he been living at that Time, for the Act, after repeating *Elizabeth Barton*'s Dealings with *Maſter*, ſets forth, "That for Ratification of her "falſe, feigned Revelations, *Edward Bockham*, by Conſpiracy between him and the "ſaid *Elizabeth Barton*, revealed the ſame to the moſt Reverend *William*, the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who, by "the falſe and untrue Surmiſes, "Tales and Lies of the ſaid *Elizabeth*, was allured, brought "and induced to credit them, "and made no diligent Searches "for the Trial of the ſaid Falſhoods and Confederacies, but "ſuffered and admitted the ſame "to the Blaſphemy of Almighty God, and to the great Deceit of the Prince of the People "of this Realm."

If any ſuch Charge as this could have been brought againſt *Wolſey*, it is eaſy to gueſs what Uſe *Polydor Virgil*, *Rapin*, and his other Enemies would have made of it. *Rapin*, indeed, tells us, 'The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, '*Thomas Abel*, and four more were 'judged guilty of Miſpriſon of 'Treaſon, and to forfeit their 'Goods and Chattels to the 'King, and to be impriſoned 'during Pleaſure; but Biſhop '*Fiſher* pleaded in Excuſe, that 'all he did was to try whether 'her *Revelations* were true. 'And for his concealing what 'ſhe had told him concerning 'the King, he thought it needleſs to ſay any thing, becauſe 'ſhe, as he ſaid, had told it to 'the King herſelf.' So he refuſed to make any Submiſſion; and yet it does not appear that the King proceeded againſt him upon this Act made on Purpoſe, as well to confirm the Condemnation of this notorious and uncommon Affair, as to radicate it out of the Minds of the Populace, into which it had ſunk very deep, by means of the continual Sermons and Writings publiſhed by the Creature's Votaries, in Vindication of her Diſtractions and wild Speeches; tho', one would have thought, the Woman's *Dying Speech* might effectu-

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into, proved a religious Cheat, which ended in the publick Execution of the Principal and ſeveral of her



effectually have done that; which here take as *Hall* has handed it to us: 'Hither am I come 'to die, and I have not only 'been the Cauſe of mine own 'Death, which moſt juſtly I 'have deſerved, but alſo I am 'the Cauſe of the Death of all 'theſe Perſons, which at this 'Time here ſuffer; and yet, to 'ſay the Truth, I am not ſo 'much to be blamed, conſider-'ing it was well known unto 'theſe learned Men, that I was 'a poor Wench without Learn-'ing; and therefore they might 'have eaſily perceived that the 'Things that were done by me, 'could not proceed in no ſuch 'Sort, but their Capacities and 'Learning could right well 'judge from whence they pro-'ceeded, and that they were 'altogether feigned. But be-'cauſe the Things I feigned 'were profitable unto them, 'therefore they much praiſed 'me, and bare me in Hand that 'it was the *Holy Ghoſt*, and not 'I, that did them; and then I, 'being puffed up with their 'Praiſes, fell into a certain Pride 'and fooliſh Phantaſy with my-'ſelf, and thought I might feign 'what I would, which Thing 'has brought me to this Caſe; 'and for the which now I cry 'God's and the King's High-'neſs moſt heartily Mercy on 'me, and all them that here 'ſuffer with me.'

It is allowed Archbiſhop *Warham*, in particular, was impoſed upon by the Woman, in the Courſe of her Vagaries, and was even prevailed upon to intercede with Cardinal *Wolſey* to admit her into his Preſence; for there is now to be ſeen in the Exchequer Record-office, an Original Letter from *Warham* to *Wolſey* on that Head, which runs thus.

*A Letter from* WARHAM *to* WOLSEY, *concerning the* Holy Maid *of* Kent.

'Pleaſe it your Grace, ſo it 'is, that *Elizabeth Barton*, being 'a Religious Woman, profeſ-'ſed in St. *Sepulchre*'s in *Canter-'bury*, which had all the Viſ-'ions at our Lady of *Courte* at '*Strete* * in the aforeſaid Pariſh 'of *Aldington* in *Kent*, a very 'well-diſpoſed and virtuous Wo-'man, as I am informed by 'her Siſters, is very deſirous to 'ſpeak with your Grace per-'ſonally: What ſhe has to ſay, 'whether it be Good or Ill, I 'do not know; but ſhe has de-'ſired of me to write to your 'Grace, to deſire the ſame, as 'I do, that ſhe may come to 'your Grace's Preſence; whom, 'when your Grace hath heard, 'you may order as ye ſhall 'pleaſe the ſame: For, I aſſure 'your Grace, ſhe has made ve-'ry important Suit to me, to be 'a Means to your Grace, that 'ſhe

* This is the Place ſhe pretended the Virgin *Mary* had, in a Viſion, directed her to repair to, for the Recovery of her Health.

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Aiders and Abettors, as more fully appears from our Notes extracted from *Hall*, *Stow*, *Rapin*, *&c.*

*An Account of Dr.* Pace's *Sickneſs, &c.*

*Fox*, one of the Cardinal's Enemies, exhibits a great Complaint againſt him, becauſe, as he alledges, "Dr. *Richard* "*Pace*,* about this Time, fell under his "high

ſhe may ſpeak with you. At *Canterbury*, the 1ſt Day of *October*,

*At your Grace's Commandment*,

'WILL. CANTUAR.'

Whether the Woman was introduced to his Eminency does not appear, but it is agreed, that it was not in her Power to impoſe upon him, as ſhe had done upon others; though ſhe pretended to have the Gift of Prophecy, whence may be juſtly preſumed, ſhe did not meet with the leaſt Countenance from *Wolſey*, which made her afterwards ſeek for the Revenge, that proved fatal to her and her Counſellors.

* As this Gentleman made a great Figure in the World, it induces us here to give ſome Account of him, and to anſwer what *Fox* has objected againſt *Wolſey*.

*Richard Pace* was, by Dr. *Thomas Langton*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, trained up at School, with others, at his Lordſhip's Charge, who, perceiving him to profit in Muſick more than could be expected for his Years, often expreſſed to his Attendants, that ſince he ſo eaſily became Maſter of that Science, his Genius might extend to greater Attainments. Some Time afterward he ſent him to *Padua*, in *Italy*, which was then the moſt flouriſhing Univerſity in the World, to improve in Literature, and was by him allowed a yearly Penſion. There he commenced in ſeveral Degrees, and was much advanced in his Study by the famous and learned Biſhop *Tunſtal* and *William Latimer*, whom he called his Preceptors.

After his Return into *England*, he ſtudied in *Queen's* College, *Oxon*, of which his Patron, *Thomas Langton*, was Provoſt, and ſoon after was received into the Service of Dr. *Chriſtopher Baynbridge*, who ſucceeded his ſaid Patron in that Provoſtſhip; from whence he proceeded with him to *Rome*, after he had been made Archbiſhop of *York*; and, upon his Maſter's Death, he returning into *England*, the King took him into Employ, wherein his Parts being ſoon diſcovered, and his Accompliſhments made known, his Majeſty in a ſhort Time made him Secretary of State, and repoſed great Confidence in him. He was early recommended by *Eraſmus* for his Learning, who, among other Encomiums on him, ſays, 'He was *Utriuſq; Literature Callentiſſimi*;' exceedingly well verſed in Divine and Human Literature. Whilſt he was abroad, in the Year 1514, he was ad-

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" high Displeasure, and, thro' his ill Treatment, ran " mad; being then in the Service of his Country " abroad,

admitted Prebendary of *Bugthorp*, in the Church of *York*, in the room of our *Thomas Wolsey*, and on the 20th of *May*, the same Year, he was made Archdeacon of *Dorset*, upon the Resignation of Dr. *Robert Langton*, some time of *Queen's* College, *Oxford*. This Gentleman discharged the great Trusts reposed in him, in several Ambassies, with very great Honour to the *English* Nation.

In 1519 he became Deacon of *St. Paul's* Cathedral in *London*, on the Death of Dr. *John Colet*, and about that Time Dean of *Exeter*: But whether he was ever Dean of *Salisbury* does not appear from the Registers of that Church; though Lord *Herbert* says, in the Life and Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, 'That, in the 'Year 1526, *Peter Vannes*, Arch-'deacon of *Worcester*, was made 'Co-adjutor to *Richard Pace*, Dean 'of *Salisbury*, upon the Account 'of his unhappy Condition.'

After *Pace* was made Prebendary of *Coombe* and *Harnham*, in the Church of *Sarum*, he proved serviceable to the University of *Oxford*, the Members whereof would have had him adorned in their *Lyceum* with a Degree, but certain Customs relating thereto, and which could not easily be dispensed with, hindered it.

His general Character handed to us is, that he was a worthy Man, endowed with many excellent Qualities and Gifts of Nature; courteous and pleasant; was highly in the King's Favour, and readily heard in Matters of Weight; was esteemed by all the Learned and Eloquent, and very expert in foreign Languages. So great a Master was he of the *Italian* Tongue, that he seemed not inferior to the famous *Peter Vannes*, the King's Secretary, nor any of the most learned among the *Venetians*: So that his Fame for Literature and great Abilities spread itself thro' all the Courts of *Europe*. Cardinal *Wolsey*, *Lynacre*, *Grocyn*, Sir *Thomas More*, and others, were his great Favourites in *England*; and *Erasmus* wrote more Epistles to him than to any other Gentleman.

Dr. *Fiddes* says, 'The Car-'dinal had no sooner heard of 'the Calamity that had attend-'ed *Pace*, who was then the 'King's Minister at *Venice*, but he 'wrote in very strong Terms to 'the *Doge* of that Republick in 'Favour of him; and that, when '*Wolsey* received an Answer, '*Pace* was honourably conduct-'ed Home, where he partly re-'covered his Senses, and ended 'his Days in his own Coun-'try.'

And, in support of Dr. *Fiddes*'s Relation, which must invalidate *Fox*'s, there are at this Time, in the *Exchequer* Record-office, Letters from *Venice* to the Cardinal, relating to *Pace*'s unhappy Condition, wrote in such strong Terms, and so much in his Favour, that it is evident *Pace* was far advanced in the Cardinal's Esteem; and there is not the least Instance

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" abroad, and died in that unhappy Condition, ſome " Time after he returned to *England*."

*The Cardinal's Enemies endeavour ſtill more to defame him.*

Many Authors relate, that the Revenues of the Cardinal accruing from the Privileges of his *Viſitorial Power*, of *making Abbots*, *proving Wills*, *granting Faculties*, *Licences*, and *Diſpenſations*; from his *Penſions*, *Preferments*, and other viſible Advantages, were thought at this Time to be equal to the Revenues of the Crown; but, it ſeems, the above Article did not contribute ſo much to enrich him, as his Chaplain, *John Allen*;* who, *Hall* ſays, *was a Man of more Learning, than Virtue or good Conſcience:* And whoſe Manner of Proceeding, according to *Fiddes*, " was to ride, accom-" panied with a great Train, in a perpetual Progreſs " from one religious Houſe to another, and draw from " them very large Sums for his Maſter's Service."

How true this may be we cannot ſay, nothing of it appearing in the Letters from the Principals of the *religious Houſes*, now to be ſeen in the *Exchequer* Record-office, which are filled with high Encomiums on the Cardinal's Merit, but make no mention of either Money or Gifts ſent to him: But it was otherwiſe, when *Cromwell* (the Cardinal's Solicitor) came into the Miniſtry, who ſcarce received a Letter that did not adviſe him of ſome Gift or Preſent.

How-

ſtance to be found, that can be relied on, why he ſhould do him any ill Office: And, if we reflect on the great Truſt that *Wolſey* always repoſed in *Pace*, from the firſt Beginning of his Knowledge of him, it ſeems inconſiſtent to think, that he would do him any Prejudice, for whom he had, upon many Occaſions, expreſſed ſo much Regard; and more eſpecially, as there is no Proof of his having neglected the true Intereſt of his Country, or that he had in any manner betrayed the Confidence *Wolſey* had, in ſeveral important Affairs, placed in him.

* *Allen* was a Judge of the Cardinal's Court, and made Archbiſhop of *Dublin* in 1528; but was ſoon barbarouſly murdered by *James Fitzgerald*, the Earl of *Kildare*'s eldeſt Son.

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However, upon the whole, Lord *Herbert* and other Authors ſay, that what had been tranſacted gave ſo much Offence, that heavy Complaint was made thereof to the King, which had like to have proved fatal to the Cardinal; (but their Accounts were chiefly taken from *Wolſey*'s inveterate Enemy, *Polydor Virgil*) for his Majeſty was ſo well ſatisfied with the Charges brought againſt his Primier, that he reprimanded him in ſo ſharp a Manner, the Cardinal thought it beſt to excuſe himſelf with much Submiſſion, and to promiſe to be more careful for the future; at the ſame Time, to paliate the King's Reſentment, aſſuring him he had made his Will, and therein left him great Part of his Eſtate, which in ſome meaſure ſoftened his Majeſty's Anger: And, to ſhew that he was before really out of Temper with *Wolſey*, Lord *Herbert* introduces a Letter from the King to him.

*The King's Letter to the Cardinal.*

" As touching the Matter of *Wilton*, ſeeing " it is in no other Strain than you write of, " and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the " Falling-Sickneſs of your Servants) afraid " and troubled, I marvel not it overſlipped you as it " did; but it is no great Matter, ſtanding the Caſe as " it doth; for it is yet in my Hand, as I perceive " by your Letter, and your Default was not ſo great, " ſeeing the Election was but conditional. Where- " fore, My Lord, ſeeing the Humbleneſs of your Sub- " miſſion, though the Caſe was much more heinous, " I can be content to remit it, being right glad, that, " according to my Intent, my Monitions and Warn- " ings have been benignly and lovingly accepted in " your Behalf, promiſing you, that the very Affection " I bear you cauſed me thus to do.

" As touching the Help of Religious Houſes to the " building of your College, I would it were more, ſo " it were lawful; for my Intent is none but that it " ſhould appear to all the World, and the Occaſion " of all their Mumbling might be ſecluded and put " away;

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" away; for ſurely there is great Murmuring of it " throughout the whole Realm. Both Good and Bad " ſay, that all that is gotten is beſtowed on the Col- " lege, and that the College is the Cloak for cover- " ing all Miſchiefs; this grieveth me to hear it ſpoken " of him whom I do entirely love: Wherefore I " thought I could do no leſs than thus friendly to " admoniſh you.

" One thing more I perceive by your Letter, which " a little, methinks, touches Conſcience, and that is, " you have received Money from the Exempts, for " having of their old Viſitors. Surely this can hardly " be with Conſcience: For, were they good, why " ſhould you take Money? and if they were ill, it " were a ſinful Act. Howbeit your Legacy herein " might peradventure *apud Homines* be a Cloak, but " not *apud Deum*. Wherefore you are thus moniſhed " by him who entirely loveth you, and I doubt not " you will deſiſt not only from this, if Conſcience will " not bear it, but from all other Things which ſhould " entangle the ſame; and in ſo doing you will ſing, " *Te laudant Angeli atq; Archangeli, Te laudat omnis* " *Spiritus:* And thus an End I make of this tho' " rude yet loving Letter, deſiring you as benevolently " to take it as I mean it; for I enſure you, and I " pray you think it ſo, that there remaineth at this " Hour no ſpark of Diſpleaſure towards you in my " Heart. And thus fare you well, and be you no " more perplexed. Written with the Hand of your " loving Sovereign and Friend,

" *HENRY* R.

The Affair of *Wilton* was ſaid to be this: The Cardinal had cauſed to be elected a Perſon to be Prioreſs of the Nunnery * there, with whom the King was not pleaſed.

From

* The Prioreſs of the Nunnery of *Wilton* was a Baroneſs by her Title, as were alſo thoſe of *Shaftſbury*, *Barking*, and St. *Mary*'s in *Wincheſter*, all very famous in their Time.

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By what the Cardinal met with from the King it is not to be doubted, but he was fully convinced of his Maſter's Diſpoſition, and ſaw what he might in Time expect, ſhould any Affairs ariſe, in which he would not go the utmoſt Length to ſerve him.

*And publiſh Libels againſt him.*

After his Majeſty had thus opened the *Scene*, by ſhewing ſome Diſlike to Part of his Conduct, his Enemies began to publiſh *Libels* againſt him; and *Skelton*, the Poet Laureat, called the *Conceited Poet*, was one of the firſt who diſcovered his Spleen, by falling on *Wolſey*'s Deſign of founding his College; ſome Part of which, for the Singularity of the Verſe, we here preſent the Reader with.

*The Goods that he hath thus gaddered,*
*Wretchedly he hath ſcattered,*
*In Cauſes nothinge expedient;*
*To make Windowes, Walles, and Dores,*
*And to maintain Bauds and Whores,*
*A grett Part thereof is ſpent.*

*In theſe Parties it is veryfied,*
*That he hath a College edified,*
*Of Marvellous Foundation;*
*Of prevy Houſes of Baudry,*
*He hath made a Stues openly,*
*Endued with large Exhibition.*

Again,
*With Worldly Pompe again incredible,*
*Before him rydeth two Preſtes ſtronge;*
*And they bear two Croſſes right longe,*
*Gapying in every Man's Face.*
*After them follow two Laye Men ſecular,*
*And each of them holding a Pillar*
*In their Honds, ſteade of a Mace.*



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*Then followeth My Lorde on his Mule,*
*Trapped with Gold under her Caule,*
*In everey Poynts moſt curiouſly;*
*On each Syde a Poll-Axe is borne,*
*Which in none wothers Uſe are Worne,*
*Poretendynge ſome hyd Myſtery.*
*Then hath he Servants five or ſix Score,*
*Some behind and ſome before.**

Notwithſtanding this quaint Poet's forced Wit, all that he mentions was no more than common in thoſe Days, and were, according to the Cuſtom of *Rome*, allowed to every *Legate a Latere*, as to the Pope himſelf.

The Pillars here mentioned were, according to the learned Mr. *Anſtis*'s Opinion, not unuſual Enſigns in thoſe Days. And we find our celebrated *Chaucer*, in the *Plowman's Tale*, where he ſets forth the Duty of a Clergyman, uſes the Word, *Ver.* 2044.

*And Uſin none Yerthly Honours,*
*Ne Croune, ne curious Covertours;*
*Ne* Pillar, *ne other proud Pall,* &c.

No one ſure will charge the Cardinal's riding on a *Mule* as a Mark of his Haughtineſs; nor was it

* This extraordinary Poet's Chriſtian Name was *John*, born, as we imagine, in *Norfolk*, and what makes it more probable is, that there was not only an antient Family of this Name in that County, but he had a Benefice at *Diſs*, ſituate therein.

*Eraſmus*, in his Letter to King *Henry*, ſtileth *Skelton, Britannicarum Literarum lumen & decus.*

It is ſaid by another, *That he had Scholarſhip enough, and Wit too much: Ejus Sermo* (ſaith *Pitz*) *Salſus in Mordacem, Riſus in Opprobrium, Jocus in Amaritudinem*; But by others he was accounted a meer *Rimer*. During his Reſtraint in the *Sanctuary* he met with much Reſpect from Abbot *Iſlip*, where he died on the 21ſt of *June*, 1529, and was buried in St. *Margaret's* Chapel with this Epitaph:

J. SKELTONUS, VATES PIERIUS, HIC SITUS EST.

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it any Teſtimony of his Humility, but agreeable to the Uſage of his Time, and in Correſpondence with the antient Practice of *Clergymen*, who then eſteemed it unbecoming them to ride upon a Horſe, foraſmuch as our *Saviour* rode on the *Fole of an Aſs*.

But as to *Skelton*, he had no ſooner publiſhed his odd Invective, than he fled to the *Sanctuary* * at *Weſtminſter* for Refuge; and there ſhut himſelf up, in order to ſecure himſelf from the Cardinal's Reſentment, though it does not appear he ever thought it worth his while to enquire after him.

But, before he attacked the Cardinal, he muſt needs be ſhewing ſome of his ill-natured Wit in finding Fault with ſome Verſes wrote by the famous *William Lilly*, † to which he returned *Skelton* this Anſwer.



* Now known by the Name of the *Ambury*.

† *William Lilly* was born at *Odiham* in *Hampſhire*, and in his Youth travelled to the City of *Jeruſalem*, where he ſatisfied his Curioſity in beholding thoſe ſacred Places, which our Saviour had viſited when on Earth. In his Return home he made ſome Stay at *Rhodes*, in order to ſtudy the *Greek*; from whence he came to *Rome*, where he heard *John Sulpitius* and *Pomponius Sabinus*, great Maſters of the *Latin* Tongue. Upon his Arrival in *England*, Dr. *John Colet* made him firſt Maſter of *St. Paul's* School, which Truſt he commendably diſcharged for ſeveral Years, during which Time he wrote his *Grammar* and other *Latin* Works, which have been, almoſt ever ſince, the Oracles of the *Grammar* Schools in *England*.

Cardinal *Wolſey*, in particular, was highly pleaſed with his Grammar; and there is now in Being a *Latin* Preface to it, which his Eminence had wrote, directing it to be uſed in his School at *Ipſwich*, a Tranſlation of which, when we ſpeak of that Foundation, we ſhall introduce.

*Lilly* upon his Death, which happened about the Year 1522, was buried in the ſame Grave with his Wife, in the Churchyard of *St. Paul's* Cathedral, to whoſe Memory, after the Fire of *London*, a Braſs Plate was fixed with the following Inſcription.

GULIELMUS LILIO, PAULIÆ SCHOLÆ OLIM PRÆCEPTORI PRIMARIO, ET AGNETÆ CONJUGI, IN SACRATISSIMO HUJUS TEMPLI COEMITERIO HINC A TERGO NUNC DESTRUCTO, CONSEPUL-

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With Face ſo bold, and Teeth ſo ſharp,
With Viper's Venom, why doſt carp?
Why are my Verſes by thee weigh'd
In a falſe Scale? May truth be ſaid;
Whilſt then, to get thee more Eſteem,
A learned Poet thou fain would'ſt ſeem,
Thou'rt, O SKELTON! all Men know it,
Neither learned, nor a *Poet.*

*William Lilly* alſo compiled the following Epitaph, on the famous Dr. *Colet*'s Monument; a little Account of whom ſee in Vol. II. p. 305.

Inclyta JOANNES, LONDINI Gloria Gentis,
Is tibi qui quondam, PAULE, Decanus erat;
Qui toties magno reſonabat Pectore Chriſtum;
Doctor & Interpres fidus Evangelii:
Qui Mores Hominum multum Sermones diſertæ
Formarat, Vitæ ſed Probitate magis:
Quique Scholam ſtruxit celebrem Cognomine JESU;
Hac dormit tectus, Membra COLETUS Humo.
Floruit ſub HENRICO VII. & HENRICO VIII. Reg.
Obiit Ann. Dom. M.D.XIX.
Diſce mori *Mundo*, vivere diſce *Deo.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

John, *the renowned Glory of the* Londoners,
*And formerly, O Paul! thy Dean,*
*Who ſo frequently preached Chriſt;*
*A Doctor and faithful Interpreter of the Goſpel;*
*Who, by his Diſcourſes, greatly checqued*

*The*

PULTIS, GEORGIUS LILIUS HUJUS ECCLESIÆ CANONICUS, PARENTUM MEMORIÆ PIE CONSULENS, TABELLAM HANC, AB AMICIS CONSERVATAM, HIC REPONENDAM CURAVIT.

In *Engliſh.*

*To* WILLIAM LILLY, *here-*

*tofore firſt Maſter of* Paul's *School, and* AGNES *his Wife, buried together in the back Part of the Holy Church-yard of this Cathedral, now ruined;* GEORGE LILLY, *Canon of the Church, out of a pious Regard for the Memory of Parents, had this Plate refixed, which was ſaved by the Care of Friends.*

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*The Immorality of Men,*
*But more by the Probity of his Life.*
*He built a celebrated School by*
*The Name of* JESUS.
*The Remains of* COLET *rests in this Mould.*
*He flouriſhed in the Reigns of* Hen. VII. *and* Hen. VIII.
*He died in the Year of our Lord* M.D.XIX.

*Learn to die to the* World, *and to live to God.*

The MERCERS Company in grateful Remembrance, and in order to perpetuate the Memory of Dr. *Colet*, cauſed a Copy of his Monument to be carved, on which they aſſign their Reaſon as follows:

Between the Choir and the South Iſle.

Leſt the Monument of a moſt worthy
Divine ſhould fall with *St. Paul's* Church,
The Maſter, Wardens, and Aſſiſtants of the
*Mercers* Company of *London*, ordered this Copy
thereof to be carved at their Expence,
In the Year 1656.

See his Epitaph before; but here the View of his Tomb.

It is very remarkable, that the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, was afterwards burnt down, in the dreadful Fire of *London*, in the Year 1666.

*The Cardinal continues his Correſpondence with Bp.* Fox.

However arduous the grand Affairs might be which the Cardinal had to attend, both in Church and State, they did not divert him from carrying on a grateful Correſpondence with his old Patron, Biſhop *Fox*, by ſending from time to time ſpecial Meſſengers with kind Epiſtles, and to enquire after his Welfare, alſo by readily paying Reſpect to that venerable Prelate's Recommendations; which friendly Actions were ſo acceptable to him, that he publickly acknowledged them on ſeveral Occaſions, and there is now to be ſeen an ori-

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original Letter, ſent from the Biſhop this very Year to the Cardinal, in the *Exchequer* Record-office, filled with the moſt affectionate Expreſſions, and thus addreſſed, *To the moſt Rev. Father in God, my ſpecial Friend, and good Lord, my Lord Cardinal of* England. And here we ſhall wind up the Year 1526.

*Affairs of Italy.* 1527. ON the 9th of *Jan.* the D. of *Bourbon* drew his Men from their Quarters of Refreſhment, in order to enter upon Action, tho' he was in the ſame Perplexity in common with all the Emperor's Generals, who did not want Troops, but the Sinews of War to encourage his Men, which was very ſurpriſing, conſidering the Emperor begun now yearly to draw vaſt Sums of Money from the *Weſt-Indies*. Soon after *Bourbon* took the Field, he formed to himſelf a bold Undertaking; to execute which he began his March *January* the 11th; but, before he could arrive at the Place propoſed, he had a Number of Rivers to paſs, ſeveral Towns of the Enemies in his Way, and Reaſon to apprehend the Confederates would be cloſe at his Heels; yet theſe Difficulties did not diſcourage him from proceeding, after leaving the Care of the *Milaneſe* to *Anthony de Leyva*. As he marched on he rewarded his Soldiers with the Plunder of ſeveral ſmall Towns, to keep them from mutinying for want of Pay, and promiſed better Booty by and by; yet he took care to conceal from them his real Intention, which was to take the City of *Rome*. However, as ſoon as they were got beyond *Florence*, they began to diſcover whither he was bending his March, which was ſo pleaſing, that the Soldiers looked upon all their paſt Fatigues as nothing.

In the mean time the Pope, perceiving the Duke of *Bourbon* to continue his March with great Expedition, concluded a Truce with the Vice-roy of *Naples* for eight Months, and had engaged him to write

to

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to the Duke to halt: But, if he ſincerely performed his Undertaking, it had no Effect; for *Bourbon* continued his Rout, notwithſtanding the concluding the Truce, till he came before *Viterbo*, which he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of.

On the 25th of *May* he encamped in the Meadows near *Rome*, and then ſent a Trumpet to demand a Paſſage through that City, that he might proceed to the Kingdom of *Naples*; and his Demand being refuſed, the Night following was ſpent in conſulting where to give the Aſſault, and in making ſcaling Ladders for ſix Men to mount a-breaſt. The Imperial Army, according to the beſt Computation, conſiſted of 30,000 fighting Men, compoſed of *Germans*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*. The next Morning, by Break-of-day, the Army was drawn out to give the Aſſault, and ſo eager were the Soldiers, that they preſſed for the Signal, which once given, they run on as if nothing had ſtood in their Way; nor were the Defendants leſs reſolute on their Part; ſo that a bloody Combat enſued, and Heaps fell on both Sides. In the Heat of the Action the brave Duke, as he was leaning on a Ladder againſt the Wall, to encourage his Men, received a Shot from a Muſquet, which wounded him in his Thigh, and laid him on the Ground; who, finding himſelf grow faint, ordered a *Gaſcogne* Captain to carry him to the Camp, and cover him with a Night-gown, for fear his People, being frighted at his Death, ſhould quit the Aſſault; and he was no ſooner got to the Camp but he expired, being but 38 Years of Age, without leaving any Iſſue.

*The Duke of* Bourbon's *warlike Courage and Death.*

The Death of the Duke did not cloſe the Fury of the Aſſault, which was vigorouſly carried on, and the Suburbs entered, when the Pope with 17 Cardinals, and the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Florentine* Ambaſſadors fled to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, *Renſo de Ceri* following them with 500 Men out of the Garriſon.

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riſon. After a conſiderable Slaughter and much Pillaging the Soldiers refreſhed themſelves, but the Prince of *Orange*, on whom the Command devolved, beat to Arms, and, driving the Guards from the Bridges, broke into the City. In both of the Attacks 5000 of the Defendants were reported to have been killed, and the whole City plundered, without ſparing Churches, Monaſteries, or Churchmen, which laſted for ſeven Days. "This was the Conſequence, ſay the *Spaniſh* "Writers, of *Clement* the VIIIth's ambitious Practices, "which happened without the Conſent or Knowledge "of the Emperor."

Rome *plundered.*

*Rome* being thus reduced the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* was beſieged, where the Pope held out ſome Days, before he would give Ear to any Agreement, expecting the Duke of *Urbino* would come to his Relief, which accordingly he did, and the *Imperialiſts* marched out as readily to give him Battle. A Letter writ from *Rome* at that Time ſays, "The Duke of "*Urbino* was utterly routed;" but *Peter Meſcia* and other Authors ſay, "That there was no Battle fought, "but the Duke, having continued ſome Days within ſix or ſeven Miles of *Rome*, and finding no Diſorder in the Imperial Army, as he had expected, "marched away and retired into the *Milaneſe*, "where he employed Part of his Forces in taking "the beſt Precaution he could, to prevent *Concordia* "from being ſurprized by another Part of the Emperor's Forces."

As ſoon as the Duke of *Urbino* was gone the *Imperialiſts* returned into the City, where they found the Citizens with 8000 Men in Arms, in order to aſſiſt the confederate Army in driving the Emperor's Forces from *Rome*; but theſe were eaſily routed. The Pope then, ſeeing no hopes left, obtained an Interview with *Lanoy*, the Vice-roy of *Naples*, who was come into thoſe Parts, and, after much Debate, they agreed, "That

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"That the Pope ſhould pay 400,000 Ducats for the Ranſom of thoſe that were "in the Caſtle," which he delivered up immediately, and alſo put into the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*, the two Fortreſſes of *Civita Vecchia*, and *Oſtria* with its Ports, beſides the Cities of *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Reggio*. This done *Ferdinand de Alarcon* was left in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, to ſecure the Pope till a Meſſenger arrived from the Emperor. *The Pope pays a Ranſom.*

This News being brought to *Florence* the People mutinied, crying out, *Liberty!* and turned all the Family of the *Medicis* and their Adherents out of the City, declaring for the Emperor, who had received Advice of what had happened; and though the Succeſs of his Forces could not but be pleaſing to him, yet he outwardly ſhewed, according to his uſual Way, much Concern for the Sacking of *Rome*, the Impriſonment of the Pope, and the Death of the Duke of *Bourbon*. *Mutiny at* Florence.

The Calamity that attended *Rome* was ſucceeded by the Plague, and the Churches were ſhut up throughout *Italy*, the Contagion raging ſo vehemently, that, to complete the Miſeries of the *Romans*, 500 of them were ſwept off in a Day; the Pope's Palace with the Library and all the Record were burnt, the Loſs of which was irretrievable.

*Charles de Lanoy*, Vice-roy of *Naples*, died alſo of the Plague at *Rome*, ſo that he did not long ſurvive his Rival, the Duke of *Bourbon*; and *Hugo de Moncada* ſucceeded him, which was no ways pleaſing to the Pope, on account of the Differences that formerly had been between them. In Conſideration of *Lanoy*'s great Services, which the Emperor did not forget, he gave his Son a conſiderable Principality, which is enjoyed by one of that Family at this Time. Lanoy *dies of the Plague.*

It was remarked, that before the War broke out, which no Man imagined could have threatened *Rome*, there appeared in that City a Man, named *John Baptiſt*,

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not otherwiſe known to any Body, than that he was an *Italian*, whoſe Habit of Life was very penitential; for he wore only a looſe Garment of Sackcloth next his Skin, went bare-footed, fed poorly, and lay on the Ground. This Man, for ſome Time, ran about the Streets of *Rome* Day and Night, calling upon the People to amend their Lives, *For the Wrath of God* (ſaid he) *was coming upon that City*. This he repeated in all Places, which at laſt gave ſo much Offence, that he was caſt into Priſon; but to no Purpoſe; for, as ſoon as he got his Liberty, he continued in the ſame Tone, till the City was taken and plundered.

The King of *France* was greatly concerned at the taking of the Pope; but, when he heard of the Death of the Duke of *Bourbon*, it abated his Grief, whom the Parliament of *Paris*, on the 27th of *July*, declared guilty of High Treaſon, confiſcated his Eſtate, and ordered his Arms to be erazed out in all Places.

Leyva *defeats Duke* Sforza's *Projects.*

Whilſt *Rome* was thus brought to Penance, *Anthony de Leyva* was not idle in the *Milaneſe*; for, underſtanding that Duke *Sforza*, with his own and ſome *Venetian* Troops, intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Malignano*, which is but ten Miles from *Milan*, he marched out, with what Troops he could muſter, for that Place; which the Duke perceiving, he quitted his Deſign. After this *Leyva*, having had Intelligence, that *James de Medicis* lay at *Caſal*, twelve Miles from *Milan*, he marched with ſo much Secrecy, that he ſurprized him at Break-of-day, ſtormed the Place, and took or killed moſt of his Men, and then returned to *Milan*.

*The* French *and* Venitians *enter into a Treaty againſt the Emperor.*

The News of the Pope's Captivity made the *French* more vigorous to ſupport their Intereſt in *Italy* than before, and for that Purpoſe *Francis* made a new Treaty with the *Venetians*, wherein was ſtipulated, "That each of the contracting Parties ſhould bring 10,000 "Men into the Field, and raiſe 10,000 "*Switzers* at their common Charge."

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The *Venetians* desired nothing more than to be supported by *France*, since they dreaded, that the Army which had sacked *Rome* would be employed against them; and very likely that would have been the Case, if *Moncada*, who commanded in *Naples* upon *Lanoy*'s Death, had exerted all his Strength, since the *Venetians* were the only Enemies the Emperor had to fear in *Italy*. But, happily for them, the Imperial Troops was wholly intent upon the Plunder of *Rome*, without a Thought of any other Undertaking; besides, the Plague had carried off two Thirds of the Soldiers; and the Remainder leaving *Rome* had dispersed themselves in the Country. After which, having sacked two Towns, and extorted Money from *Spoleto*, the *Germans* parted from the *Spaniards*, and what remained returned to *Rome*. This Disorder in the Army, which ill obeyed the Prince of *Orange*, their General, caused them to neglect the improving their Victory for the Emperor's Advantage, and gave *Francis* Time to send Troops into those Parts.

*The* French *send an Army into* Italy.

This Prince gave the Command of the Army to Marshal *Lautrec*, who as soon as he arrived was declared General to the League; and the Marquis of *Saluzzo* at the Head of the *Italians*, according to the Directions he had received, immediately joined him, as did likewise the *Switzers* soon after.

Genoa *reduced under* French *Government.*

During these different Transactions *Doria* (who had quitted the *Pope*'s Service, entered into that of the *French*, and took upon himself the Command of their Gallies, to which he had joined eight of his own) found an Opportunity of reducing the City of *Genoa* under the *French* King's Obedience.

The Marshal, as soon as he had assembled his whole Army, which consisted of 25,000 Men, proceeded to Action, and took *Alexandria* and *Pavia*. Upon this *Sforza* and the *Venetians* recovered their palled Spi-



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rits, and, as the Emperor had but few Forces in the *Milaneſe*, they earneſtly preſſed *Lautrec* to beſiege *Milan*; which he refuſed, having before received poſitive Orders to march towards *Naples*, and accordingly ſet out; however he proceeded with ſuch Slowneſs and unneceſſary Delays, that it was evident he had private Directions not to make too much haſte: And, it muſt be acknowledged, this was the Time *Francis* expected the Emperor's final Anſwer to ſome Propoſitions that had been made to him for putting an End to the War. *Lautrec* in his March made a conſiderable Stay at *Parma* and *Placentia*, which had opened their Gates to him; and whilſt he was there the Duke of *Ferrara* declared for *France*, upon two Conſiderations, 1. That *Lautrec* could eaſily have ravaged his Country in his March. 2. *Francis* offered to give to *Hercules*, the Duke's Son, *Reneé* of *France*, ſecond Daughter of *Lewis* XII. in Marriage.

The Duke of *Mantua*, preſently after, followed the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Example, but, as the Winter was now far advanced, *Lautrec* took up his Quarters, for that Seaſon, in the *Bologneſe*.

*Affairs of Spain, &c.* 1527. The latter End of laſt Year the Emperor ſet out for *Granada*, and was a long Time on his Journey, by reaſon of the Badneſs of the Weather, and the Empreſs's being with Child: But at length he arrived at *Valladolid*, with his whole Court, on the 14th of *January*, though the Floods were ſo prodigious in the Roads from *Andaluſia* to *Old Caſtile*, that the like had not been ſeen in *Spain* within the Memory of Man.

On *Tueſday*, the 21ſt Day of *May*, the Empreſs was delivered of a Son at *Valladolid*, afterwards famous by the Name of *Philip* the IId, King of *Spain*. The Emperor, when the Infant was brought to him, ſaid, *God make you a good Chriſtian; I beg of God that he give you his Grace; may it pleaſe him to enlighten your Underſtanding, that you may know how to govern the Kingdoms you*

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*you are to inherit:* And then went on foot, though it rained, to *St. Paul's* Church, to give Thanks to the Almighty.

Againſt the 5th of *June*, when the Prince was to be baptized, there was a Gallery built, reaching, from the Stairs-foot of the Houſe where the Empreſs lay, to the High Altar of *St. Paul's* Church, and moſt richly adorned with Flowers, Trees, Pictures, Plate, and ſeveral triumphal Arches, in which were Concerts of Muſick. All the Nobility then at Court attended the Chriſtening of the young Infant, as did alſo *Eleanor*, Queen of *France*; the Ceremony of which was performed by the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Oſma* and *Placentia*. After this was ended, one of the Kings at Arms proclaimed his Titles to the People in this Manner; *Hear! Hear! Hear!* Philip, *by the Grace of God, Prince of* Caſtile, *&c.* On the *Thurſday* following there was a Sport uſed in *Spain* by the Gentry, repreſenting a Skirmiſh with Lances inſtead of Spears, all richly accoutered, well mounted, and in bright Armour; and a Bull-feaſt, in which ſeveral of theſe Cattle were killed.

When the Empreſs was churched the publick Rejoycings were renewed; but ſoon after, *Valladolid* and the Country about growing ſickly, the Court removed to *Placentia*, where we ſhall for the preſent leave them with only obſerving, that before the Emperor quitted *Valladolid*, he was pleaſed to return an Anſwer to the Propoſal that had been made by King *Francis* to *Lanoy*, the late Vice-roy of *Naples*, when he attended him in *France*; in which he declared, "That "he accepted of the Offers the *French* King had made "to his Miniſter;" tho' couched in ſuch Terms, as the *Spaniſh* Writers ſay, that ſhewed *Francis* rather gave than received Laws from *Charles*, and ſeemed much to endeavour at obviating all poſſible Cavils; for,

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for, as to moſt other Matters that were depending between them, he was willing to ſtand to the King of *England*'s Determination; which, as *Rapin* inſinuates, was the ſame Thing as to depart from his Demands: But the Point relating to the reſtoring the Duke of *Milan* he could not bear the Thoughts of. However, the *Spaniſh* Writers affirm, "That, if "that had been the only Obſtacle to Peace, the "Emperor would have ſoon removed it, ſince he "had before fixed on a Way to come off with "Honour, by cauſing *Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, to be "declared innocent, in the Manner he had propoſed "to the Pope."

The Emperor's Anſwer would have been highly acceptable to *Francis*, had it come ſoon after his Conference with *Lanoy*; and it was thought a general Peace would have enſued. But the Face of Affairs in a ſhort time very much altered; for the King of *France* had now fully gained our King to his Intereſt; and the Emperor's Forces having taken *Rome*, it was greatly feared, he would ſoon become Maſter of all *Italy*, if ſome Courſe was not taken to prevent it. Therefore *Francis*, inſtead of accepting what the Emperor offered, made the following Demands,

*Firſt*, "That *Sforza* ſhould be reſtored to the "Dutchy of *Milan*.

*Secondly*, "That his Sons ſhould be delivered be-"fore he recalled his Forces from *Italy*, which was "one of the Conditions the Emperor had inſiſted "upon.

*Thirdly*, "That if the Emperor would comply with "his Demands he would depoſit 300,000 Ducats in "the King of *England*'s Hands, for the Security of "what was incumbent upon him to do."

The Emperor diſagreeing to theſe replied, "That, "if the King of *France* would perform what was "expected from him, he would on his Part make the "like

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" like Depoſit into the ſame King's Hands, as a " Pledge, That the Hoſtages ſhould be reſtored on " the Concluſion of the Peace."

This not being approved of, War was the only Reſourſe.

Cardinal *Wolſey*, through his whole Miniſtry, was for preſerving *Chriſtendom* from the Inſults and cruel Treatment of the *Turks* and *Infidels*, of which the King of *Poland* was ſo ſenſible, that he wrote him the following Letter, to acquaint him of the Condition *Rhodes*, *Hungary*, *&c.* were in. *Affairs of* Poland. 1527.

## SIGISMOND *to the Cardinal of* YORK. *

" *Dear and Honoured Friend,*

" WHEN the magnificent *John Wallop*, Great " Marſhal of *Calais*, reſided here, he ſignified " to us your Moſt Reverend Lordſhip's great Friend- " ſhip for us, as likewiſe your great Care and Study " of the good State of *Chriſtianity*, and the Defence " thereof againſt the *Infidels*, which we the more a- " greeably heard, as we underſtand your Moſt Rev. " Lordſhip's Authority to be in the greateſt Credit, " as it deſerves, with the renowned King our moſt " dear Brother, and the whole Nation: Wherefore " we return you no ſmall Thanks, and congratulate " with Ourſelves and the afflicted *Chriſtian* Intereſt, " to which we may promiſe ſome Hopes of Safety.

" That great Regard we have on our Part for the " moſt Serene King our Brother and Couſin, as well " as for your moſt Rev. Lordſhip, and alſo what the " Situation and Condition of thoſe Kingdoms are " which now alone bear the Shock of all the Strength " of the *Infidels*, though not able long ſo to do, the " ſaid Mr. *Wallop* will repreſent to you, and we en- " treat your moſt Rev. Lordſhip to be preſent with " us,

* *Rym. Fœd.* Vol. XIV.

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" us, and the Kingdom of *Hungary*, in your Advice " and Favour, that our moſt Serene Brother, toge- " ther with the reſt of the chief Princes, may be " moved to ſuccour us in our extreme Diſtreſs. Thoſe " who live *North Eaſt* of us afford us little Hopes, " for they themſelves vex and afflict the *Chriſtian* Re- " ligion with their Ignominy abundantly more than " any *Infidels*, not knowing what Calamity may fall " on them equally with ſeveral others, on account " of our ſhattered State.

" We heartily commend Ourſelves, and our Sub- " jects, who trade to the Kingdom of *England*, to your " Rev. Lordſhip, as our moſt particular Friend, whom " we are willing to gratify in every reſpect that we " ſhall be capable of, and never to be wanting to you " in any friendly Office. The Lord always preſerve " you in Health and Happineſs.

" *Given at* Cracow, *on the 7th of* May, *in the* " *Year of our Lord* 1527, *and in the* 21*ſt* " *Year of our Reign.*

" SIGISMOND R."

Beſides this there are many Letters in the *Cotton* Library to King *Henry* and *Wolſey*, relating to the loſing of *Rhodes*, and the imminent Danger *Chriſtendom* was in from the *Turks*, and other Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Faith; and from what appears the King, during the whole Courſe of the Cardinal's Miniſtry, notwithſtanding the Diſtance of *England* from theſe Countries, was always ready to contribute the utmoſt Aſſiſtance in his Power.

*Affairs of England.* 1527. Cardinal *Wolſey* and the *French* Ambaſſadors had been for ſome time employed in forming ſeveral Treaties between their Maſters, and, to aſſiſt thoſe who were already in *England*, *Francis* ſent over the Biſhop of *Tarbæ*, *Gabriel Gramont*, and the Viſcount *Turenne*.

Soon

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Soon after their Arrival, they concluded with the Cardinal, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Sir *Thomas More*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*,* and other Commiſſioners, three Treaties, which were ſigned the 30th of *April*, 1527, at the very Time the Duke of *Bourbon* was marching to *Rome*.

*Treaties between England and France.*

The firſt Treaty ſetled, "That "the two Kings ſhould jointly ſend "Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, with "Offers concerning the Ranſom of the two Hoſta- "ges, and to demand the Payment of what was "due to the King of *England*: That if he re- "jected the Offers, or gave no Anſwer within 20 "Days, the two Kings ſhould proclaim War againſt "him: That *Francis* ſhould chuſe, whether he or "his Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhould marry the "Princeſs *Mary*."

By the 2d Treaty it was agreed, "In Caſe the "Emperor rejected their Propoſals, or deferred his "Anſwer, all Commerce with him ſhould be forbidden "by both Monarchs: That they ſhould raiſe and march "againſt him with an Army of 30,000 Foot, and 1500 "Men at Arms; and that two Thirds of the Foot, and "all the Horſe ſhould be found by the King of *France*: "That they ſhould equip a Fleet with 15,000 Men, "whereof the King of *France* ſhould find 10,000: "That if the King of *Portugal*, or any other Prince, "ſhould join with the Emperor, they ſhould be declared "Enemies to both Kings: That the Pope and *Ve-* "*netians*

* The Chancellor is chief Judge of this Court, who is aſſiſted by the Attorney General of the Dutchy, and it is called the *Dutchy Court*, which takes Cognizance of all Cauſes any ways relating to the Revenue of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, which hath long ſince been annext to the Crown. This Court is held at *Weſtminſter-hall* in the lower *Exchequer*, near the *Tally* Court. The preſent Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, is the Right Hon. *George*, Earl of *Cholmondeley*.



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" *netians* ſhould be included in the League, provided " they continued the War in *Italy*: That the King " of *France* ſhould endeavour to perſuade the King " of *Navarre* and the Duke *Guelders* to make War on " the Emperor: That the League ſhould be noti- " fied to the Princes of the Empire, and Endeavours " uſed to prevent their aſſiſting him"

The Subſtance of the third Treaty was, " That " this Treaty ſhould not derogate from that of " *Moore*: That there ſhould be a perpetual Peace " between *Francis* and *Henry*, and their reſpective " Subjects."

*Henry* renounced for himſelf and Succeſſors, all Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France*, and in general whatever *Francis* now poſſeſſed.

In Conſideration whereof *Francis* bound himſelf and Succeſſors to pay to *Henry*'s Succeſſors an Annual Penſion for ever of 50,000 Crowns at two Payments; and the Payment of the reſt, to commence the Day after *Henry*'s Death, without Deduction of what ſhall remain to be paid after *Henry*'s Deceaſe of the Money ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Moore*.

Theſe Treaties were approved and confirmed by the great Men of the two Kingdoms, whoſe Names are inſerted in the Articles, under Forfeiture of all their Goods, and by the Parliaments of *France*, as well as the Courts of Juſtice in *England*.

*Hall* ſays, " The People were much againſt the " Princeſs's marrying a *French* Prince, becauſe, being " the King's preſumptive Heir, if ſhe ſucceeded to " the Crown of *England*, ſhe might in ſuch Caſe be " too much under the Influence of *France*."

In the Progreſs of the Treaty between the Cardinal and the King's other Miniſters, and the *French* Ambaſſadors, concerning the Eſpouſals of the Princeſs *Mary* to the *French* King, or the Duke of *Orleans*, (for which it was not as yet determined) the Biſhop

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Bishop of *Tarbe* raised * Objections against the Legitimacy of this Princess *Mary*, upon account of her being Daughter to Queen *Catherine*; who had formerly married Prince *Arthur*, and therefore he insinuated, that it was not lawful for the King to marry the Widow of his deceased Brother, which was the first Rise, as many Historians affirm, of the famous Pro-

* The Legitimacy of the Princess *Mary* was not only questioned by the Ministers of *France*, and probably by express Direction of that Court, out of regard to the Nicety and Importance of the Affair in general, as well as for the Reasons above specified; but the like Exception was also made to her Birth by the Emperor and Council of *Spain*, upon which they grounded the Reasons of dissolving the Contract of Marriage between her and his *Imperial* Majesty, alledging the unlawful Marriage of King *Henry* to the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, of whom this Princess was born. Upon this was questioned not only her own Birth, but whether her Children would be legitimate.

Though it is highly probable, that the Exceptions did not proceed so much from any religious Conflicts of Mind, as from Considerations purely political in the *Spaniards*, that the Emperor might be at Liberty to marry a Daughter of *Portugal*, where his Interest, and perhaps his Affection, might then more incline him; and in the *French* Minister, that the King of *England*, in regard to this Difficulty, might condescend to more favourable Conditions on the Behalf of his Master.

Yet nothing is more evident, than that Dispensations for Marriages, within the prohibited Degrees, were frequently granted by the Popes, and that this was one of the Means that contributed much to repleniſh the Papal Exchequer. The very Bull, *Henry* the VIIIth sollicited from *Clement* the VIIth, in order to dissolve his Marriage with Queen *Catherine*, doth suppose such a dispensing Power in his Holiness; for it allows, 'The King to contract Marriage with any other 'Woman, though nearly allied 'to him, either in the 2d or 'more remote Degree of Consanguinity, or in the first Degree of Affinity, or joining to 'him by lawful or unlawful 'Commerce, provided she be 'not the Relict of his Brother.' And the Exception even as to her is not made on Account of any absolutely moral Incapacity of their marrying together, but upon a Suggestion, that a License to that End had not been *canonically* obtained, or confirmed with full and sufficient Powers.

The Emperor afterwards procured a Marriage by Virtue of a Dispensation from Pope *Julius*



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Proceedings in relation to the Divorce, and opened the Way to a moſt ſurprizing Change in the King's Con-

the IIId, becauſe they were allied in the 3d Degree, and *Charles* had contracted to marry her when he was under Age. After his Death, King *Philip* deſirous of preſerving his Intereſt in *England*, ſeriouſly treated concerning a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, Siſter to his late Wife, with a Promiſe that he would obtain a ſpecial Diſpenſation from the Pope, which the *French* King ſecretly oppoſed; but, as the Queen gave *Philip* a Repulſe, *Francis* might have ſaved himſelf that Trouble.

Notwithſtanding this Repulſe, if Credit may be given to certain Hiſtorians, King *Philip* was the Occaſion, as herſelf acknowledged, of preſerving the Life of this Queen: For, when it was propoſed under the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and during her Confinement in the Tower, that ſhe ſhould be put to Death, upon a Suſpition, which the Event proved not to be ill-grounded, that on her ſucceeding to the Crown, ſhe would extirpate the *Romiſh* Religion, King *Philip* oppoſed the Execution of ſo cruel and unjuſt a Deſign; but upon what Motive it is not eaſy to reſolve with Certainty: Some have thought what he had principally in View was to prevent the Acceſſion of *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*, (then married to *Francis* the IId) to the Crown of *England*, becauſe the Union of ſo many Kingdoms under one Power, might render them an Over-ballance for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and quite fruſtrate the vaſt Deſigns of univerſal Empire then forming; and indeed, from the Time of *Henry* the VIIIth, nothing has more contributed to preſerve and ſupport the *Proteſtant* Religion, than the mutual and ſucceſſive Jealouſies between the two Popiſh Powers of the *Empire* and *France*.

By Virtue of Diſpenſations the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for certain Reaſons of State, marry among themſelves, and ſo incorporate into one Family as Members of the ſame Body. *Philip* the IId of *Spain* might call the Arch-duke, *Albert*, Brother, Couſin, Nephew, and Son; for, either by Blood or Affinity, he ſtood in one or other of theſe Relations to him, being Uncle to himſelf, Couſin-german to his Father, Huſband to his Siſter, and Father to his Wife: And ſo it happened; by Reaſon of the Canonical Reſtraints and Limitations made by ſeveral of the Popes, few of the Princes, or their Families, in *Europe* could then inter-marry without obtaining a Diſpenſation from one or more Canons, which gave an Opportunity for thoſe holy Fathers, who would traffick with the Powers committed to them, to make their own Terms with the Parties concerned. The Pope's Power of granting Diſpenſations might perhaps be controverted, yet, that thoſe, who profeſſed Obedience to his Holineſs did in general acknowledge ſuch a Power in him, and ſubmit to it when executed by him, can bear no Diſpute.

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Conduct, and in particular, as to bringing on the Cardinal's Disgrace.

Anna Bulleyn *recalled to Court.*

For now the Lady *Anna Bulleyn* was recalled to Court, and, according to the general Report, the King's Affection for her, which had been concealed, began to break out, from which the Cardinal, when he perceived what was likely to ensue, endeavoured to divert him as much as possible, by repeated Persuasions upon his Knees: However, it is but too probable, that this very Instance of his Zeal, as a faithful Servant, was not very acceptable to his Master, whose violent Temper could not bear any Thing like a Restraint, especially when the Enjoyment of a fresh Lady was in View. Notwithstanding all this when that Lady was introduced a second Time to Court, she at first carried on a very friendly Correspondence with *Wolsey*, as appears from the following Letters.

ANNA BULLEYN *to Cardinal* WOLSEY.

*My Lord,*

" IN my most humble wise that my Heart can
" think, I desire you to pardon me that am so bold
" to trouble you with my simple and rude Writing,
" esteeming it to proceed from her that does much
" desire to know that your Grace does well, as I per-
" ceive by this Bearer that you do, the which I pray
" God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray
" for. I do know the great Pains and Troubles that
" you have taken for me, both Day and Night, is ne-
" ver like to be recompenced on my Part but only in
" loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all
" Creatures living; and I do not doubt but the daily
" Proofs of my Deeds shall manifestly declare and af-
" firm my Writing to be true, and I trust you do
" think the same.

My

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" My Lord, I do aſſure you, I do long to hear " from you the News of the Legate; for I do hope, " if they come from you they ſhall be very good, and " I am ſure you deſire it as much as I, and more, " if it were poſſible, as I know 'tis not. And thus, " remaining in my ſtedfaſt Hope, I make an End of " my Letter. Written with the Hand of her that is " moſt bound to be.

" *Your humble Servant*, ANN BULLEYN.

" The Writer of this Letter would not ceaſe, till " ſhe had cauſed me likewiſe to ſet my Hand, deſir- " ing you, though it be ſhort, to take in good Part. " I aſſure you there is neither of us but that greatly " deſire to ſee you, ſo much more joyous to hear that " you have eſcaped this Plague ſo well, truſting the " Fury thereof to be paſſed, eſpecially with them " that keep a good Diet, as I truſt you do. The not " hearing of the Legate's Arrival in *France* cauſes " us, ſomewhat to muſe, notwithſtanding we truſt by " your Diligence and Vigilancy, with the Aſſiſtance " of Almighty God, ſhortly to be eaſed out of that " Trouble. No more to you at this Time, but that " I pray God ſend you as good Health and Proſpe- " rity as the Writer would.

" *By your loving Sovereign and Friend*,

" HENRY *R.*"

ANNA BULLEYN *to the* CARDINAL.

MY LORD,

" IN my moſt humble wiſe that my poor Heart " can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind " Letter, and for your rich and goodly Preſent, the " which I ſhall be never able to deſerve without your " Help, of the which I have hitherto had ſo great " Plenty, that all the Days of my Life I am moſt " bound of all Creatures, next to the King's Grace, " to love and ſerve your Grace, of the which, I be- " ſeech you never to doubt, that I ſhall vary from

" this

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" this Thought as long as any Breath is in my Body;
" and as touching your Grace's Trouble with the
" Sweat, O thank our Lord, that them that I desired
" and prayed for are escaped, that is, the King and
" you, not doubting but God has preserved you both
" for great Causes, known only of his high Wisdom:
" And as for the Coming of the Legate I desire that
" much, if it be God's Pleasure, I pray him to send
" this Matter shortly to a good End; and then I trust,
" my Lord, to recompence Part of your great Pains,
" in which I must require you, in the mean Time to
" accept my good Will instead of the Power, the
" which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord
" knows; to whom I beseech to send you long Life,
" with Continuance in Honour. Written with the
" Hand of her that is most bound to be

" *Your humble and obedient Servant,*

ANN BULLEYN."

Though these Letters are full of Respect for the Cardinal, yet it is plain, that his Eminency by no Means approved of the King's marrying this Lady; and that her subsequent Behaviour to *Wolsey*, at *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*, gives us Ground to believe, the Prospect of sharing in the Glories of a Throne, with one of the greatest Monarchs in that Time, soon rendered her disposed to supplant a Person, whom she was informed, had declared himself an Enemy to her Exaltation: Therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that the Cardinal's secret Enemies at Court laid Hold of so favourable an Opportunity of engaging her in their Designs, when they understood she was offended with him.

Bishop *Burnet* insinuates, " That there was Cause
" to suspect the Demur of the Bishop of *Tarbe*, was
" previously concerted between the *French* and *Eng-*
" *lish*

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" *liſh* Courts, that his Majeſty might have the better " Colour from ſo open and publick an Exception " againſt his Marriage, firſt to ſollicit a Divorce:" But then we think it could not anſwer the *French* Miniſtry's Views for *Henry* to marry *Anna Bulleyn*; they having a Deſign to ſecure him for one of their Princeſſes: " Certain it is, ſays *Heylin*, That he ſuf- " fered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported in Affections " towards her, that he could think of nothing elſe " but what had a Tendency to the Accompliſhment " of his Deſires; ſo that the Separation from the Bed " of *Catherine*, which was but coldly followed, upon " the Caſe of Conſcience, was now more hotly purſued " in the Heat of Concupiſcence." The Author of the *Church Hiſtory*, tells us, " That Queen *Catherine*'s " Years added to her Temper, which was naturally " grave, daily become more and more diſtaſtful to " King *Henry*, who was never eaſy but when in " the midſt of gay and revelling Company. That " it was not in his Power to conceal his Love ſo " artfully, as he did his Averſion; for, among all " the Motives he had to drive on the Divorce, " his Affection for *Anna Bulleyn* appeared upper- " moſt. That all this Proceſs was moved by the " unſeen Spring of that ſecret Affection; for his " Paſſion was ungovernable in that Regard. That " *Anna Bulleyn*'s Wit and Behaviour had charmed " the King to the utmoſt Exceſs, there being no " Perfection of a worldly Kind but what, he " imagined, ſhe was entirely Miſtreſs of, as Sing- " ing, Dancing, muſical Inſtruments, pleaſant Con- " verſation, *&c.* By theſe Attractions ſhe manag- " ed the King ſo artfully, in regard to his Amours, " that ſhe always appeared ſhy and reſerved, when " her Virtue ſeemed to be attached; and yet by " her free and coquet Carriage, often made him " believe he was Maſter of his Prey; however, upon " a near-

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" a nearer Advance, ſhe gave his Majeſty to under-
" ſtand, that her Virtue was dearer to her than her
" Life; that no Mortal ſhould have the laſt Favour
" unleſs in the State of Wedlock. And thus the in-
" fatuated King, fluctuating between the Thoughts of
" a Miſtreſs and a Wife, was ſo intangled, that, ra-
" ther than be diſappointed in the one, he was re-
" ſolved to precipitate himſelf upon the other. Now,
" as far as Intentions can fall under human Cognizance,
" the violent Paſſion King *Henry* had for this Lady,
" not only gave the firſt Motion to, but carried on
" the whole Affair concerning the Divorce. This
" Mr. *Cavendiſh*, not only a cotemporary Writer, but
" one of *Wolſey*'s Domeſticks, has delivered to Poſte-
" rity in expreſs Words.

The *French* Ambaſſadors, having fully executed their Commiſſion, ſet out for their own Court, highly pleaſed with their Entertainment during their Abode in *England*; for the Particulars whereof ſee Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory, in our IIId Vol. fol. 31, to 39.

The News of the Sacking of *Rome* and the Pope's Captivity having reached *England*, ſpeedily after the Concluſion of the Treaties between *Henry* and *Francis*, their Majeſties thought fit to alter the Articles of the Second Treaty, concerning their carrying the War into the *Low Countries*, and agreed to act in *Italy* only. But, as the *Engliſh* Troops could not be tranſported into *Italy*, without great Difficulties and Loſs of Time, they concluded, " That King *Francis* ſhould
" carry on the War alone, in Conſideration of 30,000
" Ducats monthly, to the End of *October*, to be de-
" ducted out of what *Francis* owed *Henry*." And this was ſigned the 29th of *May*, about three Weeks after the taking of *Rome*.

*The King ſends Ambaſſadors to* France.

Soon after the *French* Ambaſſadors were returned to *France*, the King ſent a ſolemn Ambaſſy to *Francis* by *Thomas* Lord Viſcount *Rochford*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*; in whoſe Preſence *Francis* ſwore



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to

to obſerve the Treaties lately concluded at *Weſtminſter*, between himſelf and the King of *England*. Then the Ambaſſadors, after having been grandly entertained, returned Home.

The Commiſſions for hearing Cauſes by Bill of poor People not anſwering the deſigned Purpoſes, the Cardinal obtained another * from his Majeſty, empowering certain Perſons to hear Cauſes in *Chancery* in his Abſence, that the Subjects might not be delayed

* ‘ *The King to his beloved and* ‘ *faithful* John Taylor, *Clerk*, ‘ *Maſter and Keeper of the Rolls* ‘ *of our Chancery*, &c.

‘ KNOW ye, that where- ‘ as the moſt Rev. Father ‘ in Chriſt, *Thomas*, by Divine ‘ Permiſſion, Cardinal Prieſt, *&c.* ‘ has been employed, for the Sake ‘ of the Peace and Tranquillity of ‘ our Kingdom and Subjects of ‘ *England*, and for the Intereſt, ‘ Profit, and Utility of the Pub- ‘ lick, in which Poſt he con- ‘ ſtantly exiſts; and conſidering ‘ and piouſly compaſſionating the ‘ inſupportable Cares, Labours, ‘ and Fatigues, which he on that ‘ Account undergoes and ſuffers; ‘ and leſt ſuch ſingular Fortitude ‘ of Mind and Body ſhould be ‘ too much impaired, which God ‘ avert, through ſuch Fatigues, ‘ and he not be able to attend in ‘ good Health, as uſual, to our ‘ moſt neceſſary Affairs, with his ‘ chiefeſt Care: Being therefore ‘ willing, that Juſtice be admi- ‘ niſtred to all and every of our ‘ Subjects, and fully confiding in ‘ your Fidelity and Circumſpec- ‘ tion, we have appointed you, ‘ the aforeſaid *John Taylor*, *&c.* ‘ by Virtue of theſe Preſents, ‘ granting unto you Power and ‘ Authority to hear all and every ‘ the Cauſes, Diſputes and Com- ‘ plaints whatever of our Sub- ‘ jects, depending before us in ‘ our Chancery, or already mov- ‘ ed or to be moved therein; ‘ and by the ſaid Lord Chan- ‘ cellor committed to you or any ‘ of you, (but not to leſs than ‘ four however) and that for the ‘ future ſhall be committed to ‘ you from Time to Time, to ‘ be heard, examined and ſcru- ‘ tinized, with due Regard, ac- ‘ cording to the Allegations and ‘ Proofs, and your own ſound Diſ- ‘ cretion, to diſcuſs and finally ‘ determine, and to command ‘ a full Execution thereof. There- ‘ fore we command that, with ‘ regard to the Premiſes, you ‘ truly and diligently act and ‘ execute every Thing with Ef- ‘ fect. By the Tenour of theſe ‘ Preſents we give it as a firm ‘ Command, to all and ſingular ‘ our Officers, Miniſters, and Sub- ‘ jects, whom it may concern, ‘ that in all the ſaid Premiſes ‘ they be intent and obedient ‘ in the Execution thereof as it ‘ becometh. In Teſtimony, *&c.*

‘ *Witneſs the King at* Weſtmin- ‘ ſter, *the* 11*th Day of* June.”

It muſt be here obſerved, that this Commiſſion has ever ſince been renewed for the ſame Purpoſe, with only varrying the Form.

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delayed in their Suits, when his Eminency was called to attend other grand Affairs of the State.

As the Pope was ſtill in Captivity his Majeſty expreſſed great Uneaſineſs thereat; therefore it was thought mete to concert further Meaſures with the *French* King, to aſſiſt his Holineſs and reſtore Peace to *Italy*; for which Purpoſe the Cardinal was pitched on to go over to *France* as the King's *High Ambaſſador*, as *Hall* calls him.

Wolſey *paſſes into* France.

Matters being ſettled the Cardinal, on the 3d of *July*, paſſed through *London* attended by Dr. *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Taylor*, *Maſter of the Rolls*, Lord *Sands*, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, * Sir *Thomas More*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, † Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley*,



* Sir *Henry* was elected, at about 39 Years of Age, Knight of the Garter, on the 24th of *April*, 18 *Hen.* VIII. at *Greenwich*, and inſtalled on St. *George*'s Feaſt following, being deſcended from a very antient Family, who had done conſiderable Services to the Publick. He was one of the Knights who in Parliament ſubſcribed the Letter to the Pope. He died in the 23d Year of this King; and a curious Picture of him, drawn by the famous *Hans Holbein*, is ſtill in being; and from this great Man the preſent Sir *Robert Guilford* of *Hampſtead-Place*, Bart. is deſcended.

† Sir *Nicholas Carew* was afterwards made Knight of the Garter by *Henry* the VIIIth, being declared by the Sovereign moſt worthy to be elected, in regard to the 'Majority of Votes, the 'Eminency of his Extraction, 'his own Fame, the many and 'noble Actions he had perform-'ed;' and, being thereon conducted into the Chapter-houſe, he received the Inveſtiture. He was indeed the only Heir of the younger Branch of the Family of *Carew*, which had ſeated itſelf at *Bedington* in *Surry* for a conſiderable Time: Yet this noble Gentleman afterwards fell under the Diſpleaſure of the ſame Prince, and was attainted by Act of Parliament, in the 31ſt Year of his Reign, for High Treaſon, and beheaded: But his Son *Francis*, 1 *Ed.* VI. procured a Reverſal of that Attainder. From this Family was deſcended the late Honourable Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Bart. who was Knight of the Shire for the County of *Surry*, in the 2d Parliament of K. *George* the Iſt, (with the Right Hon. *Arthur Onſlow*, Eſq; Speaker of the Hon. Houſe of Commons.) His worthy Succeſſor is his only Son, Sir *Nicholas Hacket Carew*, Bart. whoſe Motto is *Nil conſcire ſibi*.

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*ley*, *Garter King at Arms*, and other Knights and Eſquires to the Number of 1200; on the 6th he landed at *Calais*; and *Stow* ſays, "That there he committed "the Cuſtody of the Great Seal in the Hands of "Dr. *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls, until his Re-"turn to *Calais*;" which not only ſhews that the Cardinal knew better than to take it out of his Maſter's Dominions, but in ſome meaſure wipes off *Rapin*'s Reflection on that Head. On the 12th he was complimented, in *Francis*'s Name, by the Cardinal of *Loraine*, ſix Biſhops, and 40 Gentlemen, whom the King had ſent for that Purpoſe; and, in the *Collection of the publick Acts*, we find *Francis*'s Letters Patent, empowering the Cardinal, to releaſe the Priſoners at what Place ſoever he ſhould arrive in his Dominions, a Tranſlation of which we have here introduced.

* "FRANCIS, *by the Grace of God, King of* France, "*makes it known to all preſent and to come.*

"WHEREAS our moſt dear and great Friend, "the Cardinal of *York*, Legate in *England*, "is ſhortly to meet us in our Kingdom, on the Part "of our moſt dear and moſt beloved Brother and "Couſin the King of *England*, on certain great and "urgent Affairs, relating to the Intereſt, Profit, and "Advantage of us, and of our ſaid Brother and Cou-"ſin; and deſiring with all our Heart to do Honour "to that Cardinal with all the Favour we can think on, "as well for the moſt cordial Love which we have "for our aforeſaid moſt dear Brother and Couſin, "the King of *England*, as for himſelf, We, for theſe "Cauſes and other Conſiderations moving us thereunto, "out of our proper Inclination, certain Knowledge, "ſpecial Grace, full Power and Royal Authority, have "given and granted, and by theſe Preſents do give "and

* *Rym. Fœd.* Vol. XIV.

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" and grant unto him, that he may, in all the Cities " and Boroughs through which he ſhall paſs, on his " Journey towards us, deliver all, and every the Pri- " ſoners then confined in thoſe Places; and to forgive, " acquit and pardon all Matters, Crimes, and Delin- " quencies, committed and perpetrated by ſuch Pri- " ſoners, in the ſame Manner and Form as we do, " and have been accuſtomed to do, at our firſt vi- " ſiting Cities and Boroughs of our ſaid Kingdom; " and that he may alſo grant and expedite his Letters " Patent under his Seal, the which we will and deſire " to have as much Effect and Force, as if given by " Ourſelves.

" We alſo order, by theſe Preſents, our beloved " and faithful, Bailiffs, Seneſchals, Provoſts, and " others, our Juſtices and Officers, and their Lieu- " tenants, holding our Courts of Parliament, and to " every of them in their reſpective Poſts, that ſuch " Letters given by the aforeſaid Legate be regarded " in every Particular, according to their Meaning and " Tenour, as if they had been granted and given by " ourſelves, excepting always the Crimes of High Trea- " ſon, Murder, Rape, Sacrilege, Coining, and burn- " ing Houſes; for ſuch is our Pleaſure: And, that " the ſame may be put in Execution in the reſpec- " tive Places, we will that on Sight hereof, given " under the Royal Seal, Faith may be given there- " unto. In Teſtimony whereof we have cauſed our " Seal to be affixed with a *Salvo* always to our " Rights, *&c.* Given at *St. Dennis* in *France*, in the " Month of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1527, " and of our Reign the 13th.

" *By the* KING.

" BRETON."

On the 3d of *Auguſt* the Cardinal arrived at *Abberville*; and, as ſoon as King *Francis* heard the Car-

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*King* Francis *meets him.* Cardinal with his grand Retinue was arrived at *Abberville*, he repaired thither, attended by a numerous Court, where he received him with ſuch Tokens of Eſteem, that he lodged in the ſame Palace with *Wolſey*, who was then called by the *French*, according to *Hall*'s Report, the *Pacifick Cardinal*; and it was not long before the Cardinal concluded with the *French* King three different Treaties.

*Firſt Treaty.* By which it was agreed, "That, as King "*Henry* had left it to the King of *France*'s "Choice to marry the Princeſs *Mary*, or to leave "her for the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son, the "Duke ſhould eſpouſe the Princeſs when they ſhould "be both of Age: That then, and not before, "ſhould be ſettled the Marriage Articles concerning "the Dowry, the Education of the Duke of *Orleans* "in *England*, and the like: That, whether the "Marriage ſhould be conſummated, or the two Kings "think fit to diſpoſe of their Children otherwiſe, "their Friendſhip was to remain inviolable; the "Marriage being to be conſidered only as a Sup-"plement to the Treaties of the 30th of *April*, "and not as Part of them: That the Treaty con-"cluded at *Moore* ſhould remain in full Force: That "the Project of the Interview of the Kings ſhould "be laid aſide, on account of the Seaſon, and Cir-"cumſtances of Affairs." As by the Treaty of the 29th of *May* it was agreed, that the King of *England* ſhould contribute a certain Sum for the War of *Italy*, it was concluded by this, "That, in "caſe the Emperor accepted the Offer the two Kings "ſhould make him by their Ambaſſadors, the ſaid "Contribution ſhould ceaſe without any Preju-"dice to the Treaty of Peace: But, if he rejected "them, the League offenſive and defenſive ſhould "ſubſiſt, on Condition, that it ſhould be reckoned "during this Campaign, the King of *England* had "dif-

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" discharged his Part of the Treaty, as to the Con-
" tribution he ſhould give for the War with *Italy*.
" That the King of *England* ſhould form no De-
" mands upon the King of *France*, on the Score of *France*
" the Charge he ſhould be at for the War in *Italy*.
" That, to prevent all Diſputes, without enquiring
" into the Number of Troops, which the King of
" ſhould maintain in *Italy*, the King of *England* ſhould
" pay for the Month of *June* foregoing 20,000 Crowns;
" for *July* 30,000, and 32,000 for each of the three
" following Months; on Condition, however, that, if
" in theſe laſt Months, the *Engliſh* Commiſſaries found
" in the Army of *Italy* a leſs Number of Troops, than
" what the King of *France* was to maintain, the Con-
" tribution ſhould be abated in Proportion; and that,
" if a Peace was made during theſe three laſt Months,
" the Contribution ſhould ceaſe."

" By the ſecond, which only concerned Trade, *Francis* bound himſelf to give the *Engliſh* Merchants ſuch Privileges as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter." *Second Treaty.*

" By the third the two Kings were bound, *1ſt*, " Not to conſent to the calling " a General Council during the Pope's Captivity. " *2dly*, To receive no Bull, Brief, or Mandate, from " the Pope till he was at Liberty. *3dly*, That, till " the Pope reſumed the Government of the Church, " whatever ſhould be determined in *England* by the " Cardinal Legate, aſſiſted by the principal Mem-" bers of the *Clergy*, * and in *France* by the Clergy " of the *Gallican* Church, ſhould be punctually per-" formed." *Third Treaty.*

Theſe reciprocal Engagements being thus entered into, *Francis* ſwore and ſubſcribed an Oath for the Obſervance of them in the Preſence of the Cardinal, at the

* Called together by the King's Authority, and his Conſent being firſt had to what ſhould be determined. ' And here, ſays Lord ' *Herbert*, began the Reliſh our ' King took of *Governing* the ' Church.' P. 85, of his *Life and* ' *Reign of* Henry *the* VIIIth.

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the High Altar at *Amiens*; who at the same Time, on the Behalf of the King his Master, did the like, as the Memorial and Schedules do testify. *

We omit here to recite the great Honours that were paid to the Cardinal in this Ambassy, because Mr. *Cavendish*, who was an Eye-witness of the whole, has given a full Account thereof. See Vol. III. p. 21, to 28.

*The Cardinal returns to* England.

About the End of *September* the King and the Cardinal parted, when *Francis* not only made him rich Presents, but conducted him thro' the Town, of *Abberville*, accompanied by the King of *Navarre*, the Pope's Legate, and the Prime Nobility of *France*; but, about a Mile from the City, the King halted, and the Cardinal and he took a solemn Leave of each other.

When *Wolsey* arrived at *Calais*, he ordered a Mart to be kept at that Town in Imitation of that at *Antwerp*. † Soon after he returned Home, and was most kindly received by his Majesty, who in a little while not only wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the Cardinal, acknowledging the great Service he had done both him and his Country, but, to shew his further Satisfaction with what the Cardinal had accomplished in his Ambassy, was pleased to appoint a publick Thanksgiving; and, that it might be celebrated with the more Grandeur, his Majesty in his Robes, attended by his Queen, the Cardinal Prime Minister, a great Number of Peers, both Spiritual and Temporal, and an infinite Number of Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, repaired to *St. Paul*'s, *London*, being received at *Temple-bar* by the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; and, as the King and his Queen, with the Nobility and Gentry passed, the People all the Way testified their Affection by loud Acclamations of Joy. The Cardinal himself sung the High Mass, assisted by

* *Rym. Fœd.* Vol. XIV. † This is a fresh Instance of the Cardinal's Regard for TRADE.

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by 24 Biſhops and Abbots, who paid him all the Devoirs due to his Legatine Character. The King, and the great Maſter of *France*, repreſenting his Prince, received the Hoſt from the Cardinal upon their Knees, as a ſolemn Security for the Performance of the Treaty, by which a perpetual Peace was concluded between the two Kingdoms; and in the mean time Maſs was ſolemnizing both by the Choir of that Cathedral and the King's Chapel. After which the Cardinal read the Articles of Peace, and then, in Sight of all the People, took hold of the Gold Seal and ſubſcribed them with his own Hand, as did the Great Maſter of *France*; which being done, the whole Court with the Ambaſſadors went in Proceſſion to dine with the Cardinal.

The *French* King, on the 20th of *October*, ſent *Henry* the Order of *St. Michael* by Monſ. *Montmorency*, one of the Knights of that Order, attended by 600 Horſe. This Lord was introduced in great State to a publick Audience of the King, *November* the 10th, at *Greenwich*, where he met with a moſt gracious Reception, and ſoon after he inveſted our Prince with the Order; but the moſt Chriſtian King was pleaſed, upon this Occaſion, to empower his Ambaſſador to diſpence with his Majeſty's Oath, or even to be contented with his bare Word: However, *Henry* thought proper to ſwear to obſerve all the Statutes of the Order of *St. Michael*, which ſhould not be contrary to any other he had already received.

This Order was ſent in Conſequence of the Compliment *Francis* had paſſed on the Cardinal in *France*: The King, having the Collar of his Order about his Neck, with the Image of *St. Michael* * pendent thereto in his Hand, he ſaid to the Cardinal, *Since the*



* The Military Order of *St. Michael* was inſtituted by *Lewis* the XIth in 1469. The Knights wear a golden Collar of Shell-work one within another, with a Medal of *St. Michael*, the Arch-angel, the ſuppoſed antient Protector of *France*, pendant thereto.

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*King, my Brother, and I be thus knit in Heart, we should be tied* per Colles & Jambes, *take and give each other our Orders.* On which *Henry* ſent the Order of the *Garter* to *Francis* by *Arthur Plantagenet*, natural Son of *Henry* the IVth, accompanied by Dr. *John Taylor*, Maſter of the Rolls, and others; and the *French* King took the uſual Oath of the Order with the ſame Reſtrictions as *Henry* had done, when he ſwore to the Order of *St. Michael.*

*Additional Power conferred on the Cardinal.*

By the third Treaty conluded with *France*, which we have juſt mentioned, it was agreed, "That the Authority "of any general Council, ſummoned by "the Pope while under Conſtraint, or by the Empe-"ror, ſhould not be acknowledged: That the Clergy "on both Sides ſhould be obliged ſolemnly to diſclaim "and enter their Proteſt againſt ſuch a Council: That "in particular all Acts and Inſtruments, tending to "the Diminution or Prejudice of the Cardinal's *Le-"gatine* Character, ſhould be declared of no Effect; "and that all Perſons ſhould be puniſhed, who ſhould "report them."

For it is here further to be obſerved, that, whilſt his Eminence was in *France*, it was ſettled, in a Conference with certain other Cardinals, "That the Regulation of "all Church Government ſhould be according to the "Form here preſcribed." Whereupon he took upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs in *England*, to execute which he had the Pope's Authority by a Bull, whereby he was authorized to act in Quality of his Holineſs's *Vicar General* in all Parts of the King his Maſter's Dominions. So that by this Subſtitution he received an Acceſſion of Authority beyond what he could exerciſe in his Capacity of the Pope's Legate; and, while the Pope ſhould continue under Reſtraint, he was empowered to do whatever his Holineſs might have done in Perſon;



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ſon; and all the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions he ſhould make, aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* Prelates, by Conſent of the King, were to be held as ſacred and binding as if the Pope had been preſent, and immediately gave his expreſs Sanction.

By Virtue of this extenſive Power ſome Authors ſay, he drew within the Verge of his Juriſdiction in *England* all Matters cognizable in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts; but it did not long continue, becauſe, before the Year expired, the Pope was delivered from his Captivity.

*The New Teſtament burnt.*

During theſe Tranſactions the famous *Tyndal*, *Joy*, and other *Reformers* were employed abroad in tranſlating the *New-Teſtament* into *Engliſh*, which they got printed, and ſent ſeveral hundreds of them over into *England*, where they were privately diſperſed: But, as ſoon as it was found out, the Perſons that had them in their Cuſtody were either impriſoned or ſeverely reprimanded, and the Books were taken from them and publickly burnt; but this was not done till after the Cardinal's Diſgrace and Death.

Luther's *Doctrines prevail.* 1527.

*Luther* continued to preach his Doctrines wherever he came, and, tho' all Means poſſible were uſed to ſuppreſs it in *England*, it prevailed in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, eſpecially in the Cardinal's College, which cauſed Dr. *Fiddes* to remark, "That the Cardinal's "Intention, in erecting his College, proceeded ex- "preſly upon this Suggeſtion, that the Society he "deſired to eſtabliſh would be a Means of promo- "ting good Learning, and thereby of extirpating "the many Hereſies and Schiſms which had ſpread "themſelves over the *Chriſtian* World: And yet it "happened, by the Providence of God, who fre- "quently over-rules the Deſigns of Men, to effect "ſuch Ends as were not only beſide their Intention, "but directly oppoſite to it, which happened to be



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" the Caſe here; for there were none more active " and inſtrumental in opening a Way to the *Re-* " *formation* in *England*, than the Members of that " Society the Cardinal founded, with Intention of " doing eminent Service thereby to the Papal " Cauſe."

Some Members of the other Societies likewiſe concurred in promoting the *Reformation*, and though many of them afterwards were ſo intimidated as to recant, yet others choſe rather to be expelled their Colleges, impriſoned for Life, nay, to ſuffer Death in the Flames, than abjure the Doctrines they had openly profeſſed; all thoſe violent Methods, taken to ſuppreſs them, proving ineffectual, as well as the publick Sermons and Diſputations, whereby the moſt Learned of thoſe who profeſſed Obedience to the Papal See endeavoured to convert and reclaim them.

*William Fitz-Williams*, Eſq; * who had been for ſome time in the Cardinal's Service, having a handſome

* This Gentleman was deſcended from a very antient and noble Family, who have a Tradition that *William* the Iſt, called the *Conqueror*, in Token of Service done him by *William Fitz-Williams*, at the Battle of *Battle-abbey* in *Eſſex*, gave him the Scarfe off from his own Arm, that he wore in that Battle, which Scarfe remains, as we have heard, in the Poſſeſſion of the preſent Heir of this noble Family.

This Gentleman was ſo grateful to his old Maſter, Cardinal *Wolſey*, that, upon his Diſgrace, he readily attended him when paſſing by his Seat, and entertained him in ſo noble a Manner, that the King was highly diſguſted at it, and demanded, *How he durſt entertain ſuch a one in the Manner he had done?* To which he anſwered, *That he had not ſo done in Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, but purely to ſhew his Gratitude to one who had been ſo gracious a Maſter, and partly the Means of his good Fortune.* This Anſwer ſo well pleaſed the King, that he declared, *he had but few ſuch Servants*, immediately knighted him, and made him one of his Privy Council. From this Hon. Knight the preſent Right Hon. *William* Earl *Fitz-Williams*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, is deſcended. —— See the *Iriſh Compendium*.

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To his Grace CHARLES DUKE of RICHMOND &c.
This Plate is humbly Inscribed by his Graces
most obed.t Servant Joseph Grove.

W.m Parr Sculp.

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ſome Eſtate, before the End of this Year took leave of his worthy Maſter, and retired to his Seat in the Country; on whoſe Reſignation *Thomas Cromwell*,* then lately returned from *Italy*, and a Gentleman of Experience and good Senſe, ſucceeded in the Cardinal's

*The Cardinal takes* Mr. Cromwell *into his Service.*

good

* *Thomas Cromwell* was born at *Putney* in *Surry*, whoſe Father was a *Blackſmith*, and could beſtow no great Coſt on his Education; yet was his Son's Activity ſo prevalent, his Wit ſo pregnant, his Service ſo faithful, his Addreſs ſo undaunted, yet modeſt, and his Pen ſo ready, that he could not be long concealed, nor hindered from Favour. He had alſo ſo ſtrong a Memory, that, in one Journey to and from *Rome*, he learned the whole *New Teſtament*, tranſlated by *Eraſmus* into *Latin*, by heart.

As he grew up his Inclination led him to travel into foreign Countries, to ſee the World and learn Experience: He firſt went into *France*, thence into *Italy*, there entered himſelf a Soldier in the Duke of *Bourbon*'s Army, was at the famous Siege of *Rome*, and then returned to *England*.

*Shakeſpear* gives us this Account, in his Play of *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, of the Reaſon that induced the Cardinal to take *Cromwell* into his Service, where he introduces his Eminence, Sir *Chriſtopher Hales*, Attorney-General, and *Cromwell*.

*Wolſ.* Is that your Man?

*Hales.* An like your Grace, he is a Scholar and a Linguiſt; One that has travell'd many Parts of *Chriſtendom*, my Lord.

*Wolſ.* My Friend, come nearer. Have you been a Traveller?

*Cromw.* I have added to my Knowledge the *Low Countries*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Italy*;

And, tho' ſmall Gain of Profit I did find,
Yet did pleaſe my Eye, content my Mind.

*Wolſ.* What do you think of the ſeveral States
And Princes Courts as you have travell'd?

*Cromw.* No Court with *England* may compare,
Neither for State or Civil Government:

Luſt dwells in *France*, in *Italy*, and *Spain*,
From the poor Peaſant to the Prince's Train;
In *Germany* and *Holland* Riot ſerves,
And he that moſt can drink moſt he deſerves;
*England* I praiſe not, for I here was born,
But that ſhe laugheth the other into Scorn.

*Wolſ.*

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good Graces, who, being now intent on carrying on his Building at *Oxford*, was pleaſed to intruſt him with ſeveral great Affairs, and, in Proceſs of Time becoming a very great Favourite, diſcharged himſelf faithfully to his Maſter both in Proſperity and Adverſity, which was ſo highly to his Honour, that he arrived at laſt to be Earl of *Eſſex*.

WE ſhall next from the Beginning of this Year continue our Account of foreign Affairs, intermixed with the Cardinal's laſt Attempt for the Popedom, and proſecute the ſame to the End of the Year 1530, and then return to ſpeak of the Affairs of *England*, connecting the Hiſtory of the Divorce, and conclude it with *Wolſey*'s Diſgrace and Death.

*The King ſends new Inſtructions to his Miniſters in* Spain. 1528.

The *French* King and ours being now firmly united, in order to carry the Treaties they had made into Execution, King *Henry* thought proper, before he proceeded to make uſe of Arms againſt the Emperor, to ſend to his Ambaſſador, who was ſtill in *Spain*, to make the following Demands of his Imperial Majeſty. 1*ſt*, "That he ſhould pay what he "had borrowed of him and his Father King *Henry* "the VIIth. 2*dly*, Pay him 500,000 Crowns, he "had obliged himſelf to do, in caſe he mar- "ried not the Princeſs *Mary*. 3*dly*, According to "the Tenour of their Treaty, ſatisfy him for his "Pen-

*Wolſ.* My Lord, there dwells within that Spirit
More than can be diſcern'd by outward Eye.
Sir *Chriſtopher*, will you part with your Man?
*Hales.* I have thought to proffer him to your Lordſhip,
And now you ſee he hath proffered himſelf.
*Wolſ.* What is thy Name?
*Crom.* *Cromwell*, my Lord.
*Wolſ.* Then, *Cromwell*, here we make thee Sollicitor of our Cauſes,
And neareſt next ourſelf.
*Gardiner*, give your kind Welcome to the Man. [*Exeunt.*

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" Penſion from the King of *France*, whereof there " was now due four Years and four Months. *4thly*, " Releaſe the Pope, and ſatisfy him for all the Da- " mages committed by his Troops."

To which the Emperor anſwered: " *1ſt*, That he " had never denied his being Debtor to the King " of *England*; but was ſurprized that he ſhould at " that Juncture inſiſt on Payment. *2dly*, That he " would write to the King, to ſatisfy him why he did " not think himſelf liable to the Penalty demanded. " *3dly*, That Orders were ſent to *Italy* to ſet the " Pope immediately at Liberty:" But ſaid nothing directly concerning the Satisfaction of the Penſion; though it is not unlikely he might couch it in the firſt Article. However, theſe Replies did not in the leaſt ſatisfy *Henry*, ſo that he ſeemed bent to carry on the War againſt the Emperor.

Clement *confined in his own Caſtle.* 1528.

As *Clement* the VIIth was ſtill to be confined in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, till he could pay the Sums exacted from him, and, as he had but little Money, could only pay Part of what he promiſed, his Captivity was likely to continue longer than he expected; Alſo the Emperor not having Advice of the Sacking of *Rome*, and the Pope's Impriſonment, ſooner than the beginning of *June*, and above a Month more paſſed before he came to any Reſolution, the Pope wrote to King *Henry*, and cauſed the ſeventeen Cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the ſame; whereby they deſired his Protection, and entreated him to uſe his beſt Endeavours to free them from their unhappy Condition.

But, inſtead of ſetting the Pope immediately at Liberty, as the Emperor had promiſed our King, he was contriving how he might with a tolerable Grace convey him into *Spain*, in order to make a better Bargain with him, than he could do in *Italy*. Of this Cardi-

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Cardinal *Wolſey* informed the King by a Letter of the 29th of *July*, by which it appears, that, notwithſtanding the Emperor's pretended Moderation, he was very fond of having a Pope Priſoner in *Spain*, as juſt before he had had a King.

It is certain his Majeſty's Inſtances in the Pope's Behalf greatly embarraſſed the Emperor; and as the Kings of *England* and *France* jointly laboured to obtain the Pope's Liberty, he ſaw plainly that this Negotiation tended to unite them more and more, which muſt conſequently break all his Meaſures in reſpect to his Affairs in *Italy*; therefore he tried to divide them, and one of his Expedients was, to propoſe to Cardinal *Wolſey* (for now he thought proper to correſpond with him again) a Marriage between the Duke of *Richmond*, the King's natural Son, and *Iſabella*, Princeſs of *Portugal*, with whom he offered in Dower the Dutchy of *Milan*, in Prejudice of the lawful Heir, Duke *Sforza*: But this Bait would not take, for the Cardinal adviſed the King againſt it. However, as it was thought proper to keep ſome ſhew of a Correſpondence, the Propoſal was received. Another Way was to endeavour to gain upon *Wolſey*, by offering him a large Sum beſides his Penſion; but the Cardinal was not to be bribed, nor do we find one Inſtance of his betraying his Maſter to ſerve his own Intereſt; nay, *Rapin*, finds himſelf obliged to confeſs, that the Emperor failed in his Application with reſpect to bribing *Wolſey*, but gives it this Turn, according to his uſual Candour, "That for once he (meaning the Emperor) could "not ſucceed; but whether *Wolſey* was now too far "engaged, or was bent to be revenged of the Em"peror, who had twice deceived him; or whether "the Buſineſs of the Divorce was now reſolved on, "in which Caſe it was not poſſible for them to pro"miſe to eſpouſe the Emperor's Intereſts, I cannot "take upon myſelf to ſay."

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Be that as it was, the Emperor, ſeeing the ill Effect of the Pope's Captivity, diſpatched the General of the Order of *St. Francis* to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, with Orders to releaſe him; but the General, finding the Vice-roy dead, delivered the Inſtructions to *Hugo de Moncada*; the Purport of which was in general, That his Holineſs ſhould be bound to pay the Arrears due to the Army, and give Security to forſake the League: But, as it was not eaſy for the Pope to find either Pledges or Money, the Affair having been ſo prolonged, in the mean while he ſollicited *Lautrec*, by private Meſſages, to approach *Rome*, in order to facilitate his Deliverance: And, though *Lautrec* had poſitive Orders not to make too much Haſte, his March was of good Service to the Pope; for *Moncada*, ſeeing the Kingdom of *Naples* was about to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the *Imperial* Army, which was at *Rome*, without giving them Money, on the 2d of *October*, concluded a Treaty with the Pope to this Effect:

*The Emperor's General concludes a Treaty with the Pope.*

"That the Pope ſhould not oppoſe "the Emperor in the Affairs of *Naples* "or *Milan*: That he ſhould grant to the "Emperor a Cruzade in *Spain*, and a "10th in the reſt of his Dominions: That "the Emperor ſhould keep *Civita Vecchia*, *Oſtria*, "*Citta*, *Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Furli*: That "he ſhould pay down to the *German* Troops "60,000 Ducats, and 35,000 to the *Spaniards*: That "in a Fortnight after he ſhould pay them 350,000 "more: That, until the firſt Payments were made, "he ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe Place out of "*Rome*, and give Hoſtages."

The Treaty being ſigned, and two Cardinals delivered as Hoſtages, it was agreed, That, on the 10th of *December*, the Pope ſhould be taken out of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and conducted to a Place appointed: But, as he was afraid of a longer Confinement,



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becauſe he was unable to perform the Treaty, he eſcaped in Diſguiſe the Night before, and ſhut himſelf up in *Orvieto*.

When *Lautrec* heard the Pope was at Liberty, he reſtored to him the City of *Parma*, and marched to *Bologna*, where he ſtaid three Weeks, expecting freſh Orders from the King his Maſter. Some Days after he received a Letter from the Pope, acknowledging himſelf indebted to him for his Liberty, and intimating, that, being *forced* to grant the *Imperialiſts* whatever they required, he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his Engagements.

We here ſee, in the Compaſs of three Years Time, two Kings and a Pope were taken Priſoners by the Emperor's Forces: But neither the King of *France* nor the Pope thought themſelves under any Obligation to perform the hard Conditions they were obliged to ſubmit to, in order to get rid of their Captivity.

For *Varillas* ſays expreſly as to the Treaty ſigned by King *Francis*, when he was a Priſoner at *Madrid*, "No body there imagined, that ſuch an unrea- "ſonable Convention ought to have been execut- "ed; and the *Spaniards*, who had no Share in the "Adminiſtration, had no ſooner heard of it, but they "publiſhed, though falſly, that the *Flemings*, who "ſeconded it, had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted "with Money: The Chancellor *Gattinara* conſtantly "refuſed to ſeal it, and, when the Emperor, after hav- "ing to no purpoſe uſed Perſuaſions and Intreaties with "him, flew into a Paſſion, and commanded him to ex- "pedite the Inſtrument, he anſwered, *That an honeſt "Man ought not, on any Occaſion, to employ againſt his "Maſter that Authority which he had given him*; and "at the ſame time returned him the Seal.* The Em- "peror received it only to ſeal the Treaty himſelf, "and returned it immediately after to the Chan- "cellor: But it was with a great deal of Difficulty "he could perſuade him to take it, *Gattinara* hav- "ing

* *A noble Memento this!*

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"ing represented to him, *That it would be shameful* "*to receive the Seal after such a Profanation.*"

*The Pope writes to K.* Henry.

His Holiness now acknowledged, by a publick Notification to the King of *England* and the Cardinal, that they had been the great Instruments of procuring his Liberty, and desired the King to continue his Protection and Favour to the Papal See.

*Great Rejoycings in* England *on the Pope's Deliverance.*

The News of the Pope's Escape was no sooner known in *England*, but, on the 5th of *Jan.* 1528, Cardinal *Wolsey* repaired in great State to *St. Paul's*, to return God Thanks for his Holiness's Deliverance from his Captivity. On this Occasion the Cardinal landed at *Black-fryars*, between eight and nine in the Morning, attended by several Noblemen and Gentlemen, where he was met by the Ambassadors of the Pope, the *French* King, of *Venice*, of *Florence*, and of *Milan*; from thence this grand Company proceeded on Horse-back to *St. Paul's*, at the Door whereof they were met by the Officers at Arms, and four of the Prebends, who received the Cardinal under a Canopy of Gold Cloth, in which manner he proceeded into the Church, having the Pope's Ambassador on the right Hand, and the *French* Ambassador on the left, till he came to the Arches, where was prepared a Place with Cushions and Carpets: Here the Cardinal kneeled, and the Bishops of *London*, *Bath*, *Landaff*, the Priors of *Westminster*, and *St. Saviours*, the Abbots of *Strafford* and *Tower-hill*, with others to the Amount of 16 Mitres, in Procession met him. From hence the Cardinal proceeded up to the High Altar, where he performed his Devotions: Then, with the other Prelates, Nobles, and the whole Choir of *St. Paul's*, and that belonging to himself, in rich Copes, went in the same Order round the Church, the Officers at Arms attending; next after them the Ambassadors, then the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Livery of *London*.



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*don.* The Proceſſion being over the Maſs of the *Holy Trinity* was ſung by the Biſhop of *London*, the Prior of *St. Mary Spittal*, Goſpeller, the Prior of *Chriſt* Church, Epiſtoler. Maſs being ended the Cardinal with his Attendents went to the Choir-door, where Dr. *Capan* declared to the People the great Calamity that our *Mother the Holy Church* had ſuſtained, as well through the *Lutheran* Sect, as by the irreverent Treatment his Holineſs had met with in the ſorrowful Deſtruction of *Rome* and his Impriſonment; but that, by the Help of God, he had happily eſcaped their Hands: Wherefore the Lord Legate's Grace, by the King's Commandment, cauſed this noble Aſſembly to meet, in order to return Thanks to God Almighty, and the whole Company of Heaven, for ſo great a Reſtoration. The Doctor having done ſpeaking, the Cardinal gave his Benediction to all the People, whereat there was a great Shout. From hence the Cardinal again returned to the Altar, where he ſung *Te Deum*, which was commonly ſung by the King's Trumpets, *&c.* as well *Engliſh* as *Venetians*. After the Ceremony was ended the Cardinal returned to his Palace to Dinner, attended by the Ambaſſadors and other great Men; and the whole Proceſſion was concluded without the leaſt Diſorder.

England *and* France *proclaim War againſt the Emperor.*

As the Emperor's Proceedings had given very great Diſſatisfaction to the Kings of *England* and *France*, they, the beginning of this Year, ſent to their reſpective Ambaſſadors to quit the Imperial Court; and, as they were eager in the Purſuit of their Projects, on the 21ſt of *July*, 1528, their Ambaſſadors in *Spain* deſired the Emperor's Leave to retire; and the next Day *Clarencieux* and *Guienne*, Heralds, the one of *England* and the other of *France*, arrived there, when they demanded an Audience of the Emperor, which was granted, and his Imperial Majeſty with great Solemnity was ſeated on his Throne, attended

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attended by all his Grandees: Then the Heralds, after they had imparted the Cauſe of their coming to the Emperor's Court, concluded their Harangue with proclaiming War in the Name of their Maſters. *Charles* anſwered each particularly, but in a very different Manner; in ſpeaking to the *Engliſh* Herald he made uſe of civil and honourable Terms, denoting that he was not at all pleaſed at having the King his Maſter for an Enemy, and complaining that *Henry* had uſed him ill, in deſigning to give him in Marriage a Princeſs whom he had purpoſed to baſtardize, ſince he was ſueing to be divorced from the Queen; (concerning which Matter we ſhall ſpeak hereafter) nor did he ſpare Cardinal *Wolſey*, as he could not carry his Point in corrupting him, he now charged him with being one of the principal Cauſes of the intended Rupture.

In his Anſwer to the *French* Herald he ſpoke not with that Regard and Caution, telling him, "That "his Maſter had done falſly and baſely, as he had "told the Ambaſſadors at *Granada*, bidding him know "of his Maſter, whether his Ambaſſador had acquainted "him therewith." After the Audience was over the *French* Herald attended his Maſter's Ambaſſador, and related to him what paſſed; upon this the Ambaſſador wrote a Letter to the Emperor, deſiring his Imperial Majeſty to give him the Words in Writing under his Hand, which the Emperor accordingly did, and they were ſent to the King of *France*, who was ſo exaſperated thereat, that he ſent his King at Arms back into *Spain* with an Anſwer, who, being introduced to his Imperial Majeſty, delivered it into his Hands. This contained a written Challenge, wherein the King of *France* gave the Emperor the Lie, and demanded the Field of Battle to fight him Hand to Hand. Then *Guienne* retired from the Emperor's Preſence; but, returning again, he, before the Emperor's Face, delivered another Writing to his Secretary, which contained a Vindication

of

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of his Master's Proceedings, who charged all the Blame of the War on the Emperor.

The Herald having executed his Commission, a Paper was offered him to be carried to his Master, which *Guienne* refused, saying, "He had Orders to "receive none unless it were the Emperor's Securi- "ty for the Field of Battle." Then the Emperor replied, "He would not refuse the Combat, but it "belonged not to the King of *France* to prescribe "him Laws; and therefore he would send an An- "swer by his own King at Arms." This said, he dismissed *Guienne*, who was safely conducted back to the Frontiers, and generously treated, as he owned himself.

The Emperor, as soon as the *French* Herald was set out for *France*, ordered *Burgundy*, his *King at Arms*, with all possible Speed to repair to the Presence of King *Francis*, and deliver him a Writing, wherein he charged that King again with his Breach of Faith, and appointed the Middle of the River, which parts *Spain* and *France*, where the King was exchanged for his two Sons, as the fittest Place for their Com- bat; the Weapons to be fixed, and Security on both Sides given, when they were nearer together; be- sides this, *Burgundy* was charged with a Paper, in Answer to that delivered by *Guienne* to his Imperial Majesty's Secretary, which he was to deliver to the *French* Secretary, containing both Justifications and Recriminations. *Burgundy* waited at *Fuenterabia* 56 Days for his Safe-conduct, but, having received it, set forwards and came to *Estampes*, about 14 Leagues from *Paris*, on the 2d of *September*, and was there met by *Guienne*, King at Arms, who told him, "The King was then abroad a hunting," and conduct- ed him towards *Paris*, but would not suffer him to go thither till the 9th of *September*; at last he was introduc- ed to the King, who would not allow him to speak or read the Emperor's Answer, but still pressed for the Security

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Security of the Combat, which *Burgundy* offered to produce; however, his Majesty refused to hear what he had to say, but left him, and, though the Herald endeavoured after that to obtain another Audience, the King denied it, on which he returned into *Spain*. *Burgundy* having made his Report before the Council of *Castile*, it was there resolved, That the Emperor had done as became a Prince and a Gentleman, and therefore was not obliged to take any further Notice of the Challenge, since the King of *France* had not acted as became him, but refused to hear the King at Arms, who carried the Security he demanded, and an Answer to all his Papers; and Copies of the whole Proceedings were sent by the Emperor, together with his Letters and the Resolution of the Council of *Castile*, to all the Grandees, Prelates, and Cities of *Spain*, to acquaint them with the Fairness of his Majesty's Steps.

By what has been said the Reader may judge which of them refused the Combat; however, they never met in Person on that Account, but left it to their Armies, who fought their Quarrel with the utmost Bravery; and when each Side was tired they clapt up a Peace, as will be seen in the Sequel.

This Year the Emperor's Son, *Philip*, was sworn Heir of *Castile*, and his other Son, Prince *John*, died, which was a very great Grief to his Imperial Majesty.

Hear laborious *Rapin*, upon what passed in *Spain*. "*Hugo de Mondosa*, the Emperor's Ambassador at "*London*, hearing what had passed in *Spain*, would "have retired, but Cardinal *Wolsey* told him, that *Cla-* "*rencieux* had exceeded his Instruction in proclaiming "War against the Emperor, and should be punished "at his Return. Whereupon the Ambassador sent an "Express to inform the Emperor, what the Cardinal "said; *Clarencieux*, who was still in *Spain*, surprized "he should be made accountable for what he had "express Orders, demanded and obtained an authen- "tick Copy of the Ambassador's Letter. Upon his "Arrival

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" Arrival in *England* he waited on the King at *Hamp-*
" *ton-court*, before he ſpoke with the Cardinal, and
" ſhewed him the Letter, with three others, writ with
" the Cardinal's own Hand, whereby he gave him
" expreſs Orders to declare War againſt the Empe-
" ror. *Henry*, aſtoniſhed at his Miniſter's Preſumption,
" fell into a great Paſſion with him before the whole
" Court; nay, he would perhaps have intirely diſgraced
" him, had he not been withheld by the Conſideration
" of the Affair of the Divorce, where he could not
" proceed without him: He made him, however, un-
" dergo a terrible Mortification by cauſing this Affair
" to be examined in Council. This Enquiry would
" doubtleſs have proved fatal to the Miniſter, if the
" King had been pleaſed to purſue it, but he was con-
" tented with the Cardinal's Proteſtation, that he
" thought he had acted agreeable to his Majeſty's In-
" tentions."

Now, can we reaſonably believe, that if *Wolſey* had given any ſuch Directions, without his Maſter's expreſs Command, it would not have been a Charge againſt him on his Diſgrace? But we do not find that to be the Caſe; therefore it is to be preſumed, that what *Rapin* has related is a Fiction of his own.

*Rapin* in his next Paragraph obſerves, " That the
" Emperor's Anſwer to *Clarencieux* being made pub-
" lick in *England*, by the Ambaſſador's Means, *Wolſey*
" was afraid it would cauſe ill Effects among the Peo-
" ple, conſidering the Weakneſs of the Motive the
" King had for undertaking the War." *

" For this Reaſon *Wolſey* aſſembled in the *Star-*
" *Chamber* all the great Lords then in Court, to whom
" he made a Speech, aggravating as much as poſſible
" the Injuries the King had received from the Empe-
" ror, and his Reaſons to demand Satisfaction by
" Arms;

* Though he before inſiſted, 'That the King had good Reaſon to take Part with *France*.' See our IIId Vol. fol. 392.

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" Arms; but, let him ſay what he could, though " every one outwardly apprehended him, what the " Emperor ſaid to the Herald made deeper Impreſ- " ſion than all the Arguments the Miniſter could " alledge. The People openly exclaimed againſt a " War, which was going to ruin the Kingdom, * to " gratify the Favourite's Paſſion. Nay, ſome went " further than Murmurs; as the Trade in the *Low* " *Countries* was interrupted by the Declaration of War, " and the Merchants would buy no more Cloth than " they could vend, the Clothiers riſe in Arms; where- " upon the Cardinal ordered the Merchants to buy " the Cloth as uſual, threatning in Caſe of Refuſal, " to buy them himſelf, and ſell them to the Fo- " reigners: But they made a Jeſt of this Threat, " and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render " themſelves liable to an inevitable Loſs for his " Sake. †

" An Embaſſy from the Governeſs of the *Low* " *Countries* to the King, whilſt theſe Things were in " Agitation, freed the Cardinal from his Embarraſ- " ment; the Ambaſſadors acquainting him, that, if " the King pleaſed to accept of a Truce, the Gover- " neſs would readily agree to it. This Overture be- " ing debated in Council, it was reſolved, notwith- " ſtanding the *French* Ambaſſador's Oppoſition, to " agree to a Truce for eight Months, which was ſign- " ed the 8th of *June*."

Pope

* Was it to ruin the Kingdom to endeavour to ſecure the Ballance of Power, by taking Meaſures to prevent the Emperor's becoming too great, as he before aſſerted? See our IIId Vol. fol. 392.

† No Authority for this; and the Reader may eaſily perceive, that this was calculated to render *Wolſey*'s Name odious to Poſterity among the Merchants and the trading Part of the Nation, by gaining which he very well knew he ſhould get the Majority on his Side. Whereas nothing is more manifeſt, than that no Miniſter was a greater Encourager of Trade than *Wolſey*. But pray obſerve how Monſieur comes off at laſt.



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*Affairs of Italy.* 1528. Pope *Clement* had loſt *Florence*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, and *Rome* itſelf, with the beſt Part of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, ſeen himſelf drained of his Treaſure, and a Captive not haſtily to be ranſomed; which was ſufficient to make him ſeriouſly reflect on his paſt Conduct, and take another Courſe.

The Ambaſſadors of *England*, *France*, and *Venice*, as ſoon as they found him ſecure at *Orvietto*, preſſed him to declare againſt the Emperor; but he, having learnt by ſad Experience, that he had been the Dupe of his Allies, was reſolved to be no longer guided by their intereſted Councils, and told them, "That his "joining in the League would draw upon him freſh "Miſchiefs, without procuring them any Advantage: "That it was neceſſary, for the Benefit of *Chriſten-* "*dom*, there ſhould be a Mediator to procure Peace; "and that was all he could do in the State he was re- "duced to." Neverthleſs he intimated, "That he "might take other Meaſures, if *Lautrec* prevailed on "the Emperor's Troops to abandon *Rome*." And this indeed was his ſole Aim.

Lautrec *ſets out for* Naples. Now *Lautrec* begun to act again; for he departed from *Bologna* the 9th of *Jan.* and took the Road to *Naples*, having firſt ſent Prince *Vandemont* to the Pope to preſs him to declare; but *Clement* found Means to excuſe himſelf, without giving him a poſitive Denial; becauſe, ſeeing all *Europe* in Motion, he was willing to wait the Event of the War, before he declared on either Side, which obliged him to uſe many Artifices not to diſpleaſe one Party more than the other. If he had taken this Precaution at firſt, he might have ſold his Favours almoſt at any Rate. Though *Lautrec* could not get a direct Anſwer from the Pope he purſued his March, and arrived on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples* the 10th of *February*, being longer on his Way than he had need, if he had been ſupplied with Money; for the King of *France* ſerved

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ſerved him as before, in neglecting to ſend what he had promiſed.

*Lautrec*, when he quitted his Quarters in the *Bologneſe*, had an Army of 28,000 Infantry, excellent Troops, beſides Gendarmery and Light Horſe; and had no more to do, but to run through the Kingdom of *Naples* to conquer it. However, his March had this Effect, the Prince of *Orange*, though with Difficulty, got the *Imperialiſts* to quit *Rome*, and march to the Succour of *Naples*, but they were in no Condition to oppoſe the *French* in the Field. Thus *Rome* was delivered from the Plague of military Ravagers, who had for ten Months exerciſed all Sort of Rapine and Violence; and the Remembrance of theſe Cruelties, in all Probability, remains with the Citizens to this Day. However, the Marſhal uſed all his Efforts to bring his Enemy to a Battle; but General *Alarcon*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Troops, avoided it; which being the Caſe, the Towns, as *Lautrec* marched on, opened their Gates to him, inſomuch that *Moncada*, who was now become Vice-roy of *Naples*, finding himſelf not able to keep the Field, thought of nothing but defending the Capitol and *Guietta*; whereupon he entered *Naples* with the Prince of *Orange*, and left the Defence of the latter Place to *Alarcon*, who took Poſſeſſion of it. In ſhort, the *French* Army met with no Reſiſtance till they came before *Naples*, which, according to *Guicciardin*, was *April* the 29th.

The taking this Capitol would have been a deciſive Stroke, but the Vice-roy had brought into the Town with him 10,000 of his beſt Troops, ſo that the Garriſon was very numerous, which cauſed *Lautrec* to hold a Council of War, wherein it came to be debated, Whether the *French* ſhould block it up, or immediately attack the Place? The latter was reſolved on; and in the mean time *Philippino Doria*, Nephew to the famous *Andrew Doria*, undertook with his Gal-



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lies to block it up, by Sea, which made *Lautrec* apprehend he ſhould not be long before he ſtarved the Garriſon out.

Theſe Schemes were immediately put in Execution, whereby the Beſieged ſoon became in want of Proviſions, which they could not obtain unleſs the Sea was open. To effect this the Vice-roy, underſtanding *Doria* began to be very remiſs in his Charge, thought to have ſurprized him, and that he had found a favourable Opportunity for it, which put him upon privately equipping all his Gallies, embarking himſelf with the choiceſt of his Garriſon, and ſailing towards *Doria*.

But Marſhal *Lautrec*, having been acquainted with this Deſign, timely apprized him of it, and ſent him ſome Troops. The *Imperialiſts* found *Doria* well prepared; however, a bloody Battle enſued, the *Neapolitans* were defeated, the Vice-roy killed, and the Marquis *del Vaſto* taken Priſoner.

This Defeat ſtruck *Naples* with ſuch a Conſternation, that the Prince of *Orange* had a great deal of Difficulty to keep up their Spirits; for, by the Death of the Vice-roy, the Defence of the Place devolved upon him, who behaved himſelf with all poſſible Courage and Conduct, frequently making briſk Sallies; notwithſtanding this he muſt have ſunk, Scarcity and the Plague making great Havock in the Garriſon, if the Beſiegers had been able to have continued the Blockade; but their Condition was now worſe than the Beſieged, for the Plague had got among them too, being brought into the Camp by ſome People from *Naples*, which increaſed to ſuch a Degree, that, before the End of *July*, above 20,000 Soldiers were carried off, whereby there was not left above 4000 fighting Men; and *Lautrec* alſo was ſeized with a contagious Diſeaſe, that made him uncapable of giving the neceſſary Orders for carrying on the Siege, which the Prince of *Orange* underſtanding, he wearied the Beſiegers

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ſiegers with frequent Sallies, ſo that at laſt the Convoys paſſed unmoleſted into the Town. But what compleated the Overthrow of the Siege was the Treachery of *Andrew Doria*, who, under Pretence of being diſobliged by *France*, went over to the Emperor, and recalled his Nephew from before *Naples*, whereby the Port was immediately freed, and Proviſions in Plenty was brought into the City both by Sea and Land.

Marſhal *Lautrec* in the mean time, who had partly recovered, relapſed and died in the Night between the 15th and 16th of *Auguſt*, * through

Lautrec's *Death.*

* Father *Daniel* ſays, "*Lautrec* was one of the beſt Officers that was in *France*, but "his Haughtineſs, Pride and "Preſumption, rendered him "incapable of hearkening to Advice; Faults which made him "commit very great Miſtakes "in ſeveral of his Expeditions." — *Brantome* relates, "That *Lautrec* was charged with the Loſs "of *Milan* in the Battle of *Bicoque*, and blamed for yielding "to the Inſtances of the *Swiſs*, "to fight on that Occaſion." It was alſo ſaid, "That ſeveral Remonſtrances againſt him were "ſent from *Milan* to the King, "ſetting forth, that, though he "was a good Officer, yet very "improper for ſuch a Government: But that Madam *de* "*Chateaubriant*, *Lautrec*'s Siſter, "and a moſt beautiful and polite Lady, for whom the King "had a very great Regard, ſoftened all thoſe Complaints, "and always preſerved her Brother in the King's good Graces, "which gave Birth to a Proverb "in that Time, *That* Milan *had* "*raiſed* Meuillan, *and* Chateaubriant *loſt* Milan;" which alludes to a famous Seat ſo called, built by *Chaumont*, out of the Spoils of *Milan* in *Burgundy*, and the King's overlooking *Lautrec*'s Faults while Governor of that Dutchy, through the Interpoſition of his Miſtreſs.

Virtue, though often traverſed, is ſtill in Vogue and ſought after; for *Lautrec* having, after his Return from *Italy*, retired into *Guienne*, ſome time afterwards was ſent for to Court, received into Favour more than ever, and made Lieutenant General of the grand League concluded againſt the Emperor. He was ſent on an Expedition againſt *Naples*, which he chearfully undertook, and in his March took *Boſco*, *Alexandria*, and *Pavia*. In *Pavia* he was rather cruel to revenge the Outrage and Taking of *Francis*, and the Death and Defeat of ſo many brave *Frenchmen*, who had met with their tragical Fates under her Walls; for which Reaſon he would not enter that City at any of the Gates, but at the Breach on Horſe-back, to ſhew thereby a more abſolute Triumph.

*Lautrec*, having performed ſeveral grand military Exploits in *Lombardy*, was ready to inveſt *Milan*,

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through the extraordinary Fatigue he was inſtantly obliged to undergo, by *Doria*'s deſerting the *French* Service. Sir

*Milan*, to repair his paſt Fault, when he received the King's Orders to march directly to *Naples*. He arrived at that fatal Place for him, (as *Ravenna* had been for *Nemours*, his Couſin) upon the Point of a moſt glorious Victory, if he had pleaſed: *But*, as the *Neapolitans* ſay, *Fortune is not to be catched by the Locks*; which he neglected, when he might have had it by Hand-fulls, through his own Preſumption, who would liſten to no Advice, and refuſed to aſſault or batter the Towns, contrary to the concurrent Opinions of all his Officers, ſaying, 'That he would not conſume 'his Ammunition to no Purpoſe, 'which ſhould ſerve him well 'elſewhere; and that he knew 'he muſt ſoon have all the Garriſon, with their Necks in Halters, by Famine and a long 'Siege.' But it happened quite otherwiſe, as we have already related. When *Lautrec* was confined to his Bed, he frequently aſked of the Officers and Phyſicians, who viſited him, *What State of Health the Camp was in?* who conſtantly replied, 'That all grew better and better, 'for the Infection daily diminiſhed.' But he, ſuſpecting their Anſwers proceeded more from Complaiſance to him than Regard to Truth, threatened one Day to have two of his Pages ſeverely puniſhed, if they did not inform him of the true Condition the Army was in; then they declared, *That the Camp was deſtroyed, and that ſcarce any eſcaped the Sickneſs:* At which *Lautrec* was ſo ſhocked, that his Gall and Heart broke, which put an End to his Days. However, he died with ſo much Glory, that the Pope cauſed ſolemn Obſequies, in a moſt pompous Manner, to be performed for him; and the King his Maſter cauſed a funeral Service to be performed for him in the Church of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*, with the ſame Grandeur and Magnificence as if he were his own Child, or ſome grand Prince of the Blood: But the Office performed for him by the *Spaniard*, his Enemy, exceeded all this a hundred Degrees, by erecting a Superb Marble Tomb for his poor Bones, which muſt have been tumbled and toſſed in a miſerable Vault, where his People had buried him without any funeral Pomp, and as if he had been the moſt private Centinel of his Time. The Tomb appears ſtill in excellent good Condition, in the Duke of *Seſſa*'s Chapel, in the new Church of *St. Mary*, at *Naples*; the Epitaph on which is as follows:

To Odet to Foix *LAUTREC* Gonsalvo Ferdinando,
*The Son of* Lewis de Cordova,
*And Nephew to the Great* Gonsalvo.

The *Spaniſh* Grandee, finding this Warrior's Bones, though an Enemy, lie without that Honour due to them, and to which the Fortune of War had brought him, and mindful of human Miſeries, has beſtowed this Tomb on the *French* General in the Chapel of his Forefathers.

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Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Gentleman of the Bedchamber both to King *Henry* and *Francis*, who had the Command of 200 Horſe in the Army, paid by our King, died of the Plague, as did *John Carew*, who ſucceeded him, the *Sweating Sickneſs* being all this Summer in *England*, whereof alſo died Sir *Francis Poyntz*, *William Compton*, Eſq; and others of Note.

*Lautrec*'s Death was followed with raiſing the Siege of *Naples*, and the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, to whom the Command of the Army devolved, retreated in good Order and retired to *Averſa*, where he was beſieged, being wounded with a Blow from a Stone that broke his Knees, which ſo diſcouraged the Soldiers, that they obliged him to ſurrender on a diſhonourable Capitulation; for the Marquis ſubmitted to be a Priſoner of War; but the *French* Officers and Soldiers had leave to go into *France*, upon leaving their Colours and Standards behind them: Terrible Terms for Men of real Blood! The *Swiſs*, by one of the Articles, were to return Home: The *Italians*, by another Article, were obliged not to ſerve againſt the Emperor for ſix Months; and the Marquis was alſo to do all that lay in his Power to oblige the Governors of of the Places, taken either by the *French* or the Allies, to deliver them up, but moſt of them refuſed to ſtand to this Capitulation.

*Naples* was no ſooner loſt but *Genoa* followed, *Andrew Doria*, who was very powerful in that City, made it revolt. Marſhal *Theodore Trivulta* retired into the Caſtle with ſome Soldiers, but was obliged to ſurrender about the End of *October* for want of Proviſions: Whereupon *Doria*, purſuant to his Agreement with the Emperor, reſtored his Country to Liberty, and eſtabliſhed the Government, which ſubſiſts at this Day. *Savona* was alſo delivered up thro' the Cowardice of Governor *Moreta*.

The *French* were no leſs unfortunate in the *Milaneſe*, for *Anthony Leyva* ſurprized *Pavia* and other Places,

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Places, but was obliged to raiſe the Siege of *Lodi*, through the vigorous Reſiſtance of *John Paul Sforza*, baſtard Brother to the Duke of *Milan*.

The Count of *St. Pol*, being come up with a Reinforcement from *France*, and joined by the *Venetian* Army, retook *Pavia*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Como*; and with this the Campaign ended in the *Milaneſe*.

" So fatal a War, ſays Father *Daniel*, the Advan-
" tages and Diſadvantages of which were not yet great
" enough on either Side to ſecure the Event, be-
" gun to tire both the Emperor and *France*, and
" make them hearken to peaceable Councils, which
" *Margaret* of *Auſtria* gave the Emperor, her Ne-
" phew; and the Princeſs Regent, on the other hand,
" the King, her Son." Whereupon they both ſignified their Inclinations to the Pope by their Envoys, in the beginning of the following Year, 1529, and had this Effect, that the City of *Cambray* was pitched upon for the Conferences which were agreed to be negotiated by the above Princeſs, and to begin at the End of *May*; but, before theſe Ladies met, the War was carried on in *Italy*, and *Anthony Leyva* attacked the Count of *St. Pol* in the *Milaneſe*, routed his Forces, and took him Priſoner. The Remainder of the *French* that were at *Pavia*, hearing the News, deſerted in whole Companies, ſo that there was ſcarce any *French* left in the *Milaneſe*; and thus ended this new Expedition into *Italy*, which, one would think, ſhould have been a ſufficient *Memento* to prevent them from ſending Troops thither, that has generally proved fatal to them, and not improperly called, *The Grave of the Frenchmen*.

*Congreſs at Cambray.* 1529. In *July* the two Princeſſes repaired to *Cambray*, as did Dr. *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and Sir *Thomas More*, on King *Henry*'s Behalf, and on the 5th of *Auguſt* a Treaty of Peace was concluded between the Emperor and *France*, in which *England* was included,

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included, called the *Lady's Peace*, the Subſtance whereof follows.

" That the Emperor ſhould deſiſt from his preſent Demands on *Burgundy*, without prejudicing any Right he might claim to that Dutchy by Courſe of Law. That the Crown of *France* ſhould pay him two Millions of Crowns of Gold, for the Ranſom of *Francis*'s Sons, and withdraw his Forces out of *Italy*. That he ſhould reſign to the Emperor the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*. That he ſhould reſtore to the Emperor the Earldom of *Eſti*, with whatever he held in the Dutchy of *Milan*. That he ſhould renounce all his Pretentions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and marry *Eleanora*, with whom the Emperor ſhould give him in Dower 200,000 Crowns."

*Treaty of* Cambray. 1529.

There was alſo ſeveral other Articles, particularly, " *Francis* promiſed to reſtore the Heirs of the late " Duke of *Bourbon* to all that Prince poſſeſſed in " *France*." And alſo "That the King of *France* " ſhould pay the 200,000 Crowns due from the Em- " peror to *England* by Inſtalment, and redeem the " rich Flower-de-Luce, pawned to *Henry* the VIIth " for 50,000 Crowns."

But there was no mention of the *Venetians*, who were Allies of *France*, ſave that *Francis* undertook to require the *Venetians* to yield to the Emperor what they poſſeſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This made a *Venetian* Nobleman tell the Doge, *That the City of* Cambray *was the Purgatory of the* Venetians; alluding not only to this Treaty, but that which was formed to ruin them, as before mentioned.

The Pope had before made his Peace with the Emperor, upon as advantageous Conditions as if that Prince had had the worſt of the War in *Italy*: And his Holineſs's Aim was not only to be reſtored to *Florence*, but to other Places taken by the *Venetians* during his Captivity. But, whilſt he was forming theſe Projects,



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he was taken ill of so violent a Distemper, that his Physicians suspected he was poisoned.

Wolsey *tries a 3d time for the Papacy.*

Cardinal *Wolsey*, having notice of the Pope's dangerous Illness, dispatched an Express to *Gardiner*, with full Instructions how to conduct himself, and not to neglect any thing that he thought capable of procuring him the Papacy. *Henry* himself also writ to several Cardinals in his Behalf; and the King of *France*, who was not yet secure of a Peace, had given him all those of his Faction; and it is affirmed, that *Wolsey* would have been sure of a third of the Votes, in case the Pope had died, which, though not sufficient to make him Pope, was enough to hinder any other from being so.

The two Letters * subjoined are the Substance of some of the Arguments made use of by Cardinal *Wolsey*, in

WOLSEY's *Letter to* GARDINER.

'*Mr. Stephen,*

'ALBEIT ye shall be sufficiently with your Colleagues, by such Instructions as be given to Monsieur *Vincent*, informed of the King's Mind and mine concerning my Advancement unto the Dignity Papal, not doubting but that, for the singular Devotion which you bear towards the King and his Affairs, both general and particular, and perfect Love which ye have toward me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitate to serve and conduce to that Purpose; yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent Expression of my mind in that Behalf, to write unto you, as to the Person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this Thing shall be most prudently set forth, these few Words following of mine own Hand. I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider as well the State wherein the Church and all *Christendom* doth stand now presently, as also the State of this Realm and the King's secret Matter; which, if it should be brought to pass by any other Means than by the Authority of the Church, I account this Prince and Realm utterly undone; and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old Age to be the said common Father; yet when all things be well considered, and the Qualities of all the Cardinals well considered, (*absit verbum jactante*) there shall be none found that can and will set Remedy in the aforesaid thing, but only the Cardinal of *York*, whose Good-will and Zeal is not to you of all Men unknown: And were it not

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in order to get himself elected Pope, on the Demise of *Clement* the VIIth.



'not Reintegration of the State 'and See Apostolick to the pri-'stine Dignity, and for the con-'ducing of Peace among *Chri-'stian* Princes, and especially to 'relieve this Prince and Realm 'from the Calamity that the 'same be now in, all the Riches 'or Honour in the World should 'not cause me *(uedum aspirare, 'sed ne consentire)* to accept the 'same Dignity, although the 'same with all Commodities 'were offered unto me.

'Nevertheless conforming my 'self to the Necessity of the Time, 'and the Will and Pleasure of 'these two Princes, I am con-'tent to approve all my Wit and 'Study, and to set forth all 'Means and Ways *(ut beneficiam rebus Christianitatis)* for 'the attaining the said Dignity; 'for the atchieving and attaining 'whereof, for as much as there-'upon dependeth the Healths 'and Wealth not only of these 'two Princes and their Realms, 'but of all *Christendom*, no-'thing is to be omitted that may 'conduce to the said End and 'Purpose. Wherefore, Master '*Stephen*, since you be so plainly 'advertised of my Mind and In-'tent, I shall pray you to ex-'tend all the Force of your Elo-'quence, that Matters may be 'brought to this Issue, without 'sparing any Cost, Promises, or 'Labour, agreeable to the In-'clinations, or Taste of those 'Persons you shall treat with, 'and whether publick or pri-'vate, to square your Actions 'for that Purpose, you and 'your Colleagues do not want 'ample Powers, limited by no 'Bounds, Conditions, or Re-'strictions; and whatever you 'transact, I would have you 'know, will be agreeable and 'acceptable to the King and 'me; for, to speak briefly, we 'repose all in your Address and 'Fidelity. I have nothing else 'to add but humbly to pray the 'great and good God to assist 'you in all your Proceedings. 'Cordially farewel.

'*From our House* at *Westminster*, '7th *February*.

'*T.* of YORK.'

*The Cardinal's Letter to Sir* Gregory Cassali, *Knight, and Mr.* Peter Vannes, *the most serene King of* England *and* France's *Ambassadors in the Court of* Rome.

'*Sir* Gregory, *and Mr.* Peter 'Vannes, *Health:*

'AS nothing could be more 'unseasonable to the *Chri-'stian* Commonwealth, but par-'ticularly to the Affairs of 'the King's Majesty, than the 'Death of his Holiness, I there-'fore am of Opinion, that it can 'be no Secret to you of what 'Danger and Hazard the Choice 'of a future Pope may prove to 'the most serene King's Health, 'Honour, and the Repose of his 'Kingdom, and how much you 'are to endeavour, and with your 'Care, Diligence and Industry, 'to

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The King likewiſe ſent Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors and others at *Rome*, upon this Occaſion, which were couched as under mentioned*: But, before they could

'to withſtand and oppoſe, leſt 'any one ſhould be elected Pon-'tiff, and not in the Intereſt of 'his Majeſty. What you are 'to act and do, with reſpect to 'my Promotion, I have briefly 'ſummed up for you in my com-'mon Letters; neither ſhall I 'add any thing more on that 'Head in this, which I have been 'induced to write to you for no 'other Reaſon than to let you 'know, that I commit and truſt 'this moſt mighty, and chiefeſt 'of all Affairs, which you are to 'manage, to your Prudence, Fi-'delity and Addreſs, which, by 'long Experience, I am per-'fectly acquainted with; and I 'hope that you will anſwer the 'Expectation and Opinion I 'have conceived of you. Fare 'ye well. *London*, *February* 6th, '1528.

'*Your moſt loving Brother*,

'*T.* Cardinal, of *York*.'

* The King on that Head among other Things ſaith, 'That 'he hath, by good and mature 'Deliberation, ſtudied, deviſed, 'and excogitated with himſelf, 'who were and might be the 'moſt able, mete, and conve-'nient Perſon, having the Quali-'ties before ſpecified, to be ad-'vanced at this Time unto the 'ſaid Dignity Papal; and final-'ly, when his Grace hath well 'revolved with himſelf all the 'Reſpects and Conſiderations a-'foreſaid, and all Things mete 'to be regarded to every of the 'Cardinals of the Church of '*Rome*, both preſent now in the 'Court there, and abſent from 'the ſame, it cannot be found 'that there is any Perſon ſuffi-'ciently furniſhed with the Re-'quiſites before ſpecified, but 'only the moſt Reverend Father 'in God, and his moſt truſty 'Counſellor, the Lord Legate, 'Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *York*, 'Primate and Chancellor of this 'Realm, who being well known 'to have a fervent Zeal, ſteady 'Mind, and Deſire to the uni-'verſal Weal, Repoſe, and Tran-'quillity of *Chriſtendom*, to the 'Reintegration and Reſtoration 'of the Dignity, Authority, 'Reputation, and Right of the 'Church and See Apoſtolick; to 'the Surety, Weal, and Exalta-'tion of the King's Highneſs, the '*French* King, and other Confe-'derates; and, finally, to the Per-'fection of the King's ſaid great 'and weighty Cauſe, whereup-'on dependeth the Surety of 'his Royal Perſon, Succeſſion, 'Realm, People, and Domi-'nions, as any Perſon living can 'or may have: And that the 'ſaid moſt Rev. Father hath the 'faſt aſſured Favour herein of 'the ſaid *French* King, who, of 'his own meer Motion, hath 'frankly and liberally offer-'ed all that by himſelf, his 'Friends, his Power, his Agents, 'or otherwiſe he may or can 'poſſibly do, for his Advance-'ment to the ſaid Dignity Papal,

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could be well put in Execution, the Pope unexpectedly recovered, on which *Wolsey*'s Hopes were again frustrated.

*The Treatment the* French *Princes met with in* Spain. 1530.

The *French* Princes, Prisoners in *Spain*, were first delivered to the Custody of the Constable of *Castile*, and kept at *Vallalpando*, where their *French* Servants were taken from them; then they were carried to the Fortress of *Pedraza de la Sierra*; however, in *November*, the Emperor sent Orders to allow their Preceptor to have Access to them, in the Presence of some trusty Person; because before this a Letter, from one

' is the Person, who, for his sin-
' gular Virtue, his entire Devo-
' tion to Peace, and Restoration
' of the said See, the Excellency
' of his Wisdom, Learning, and
' Experience, the Magnanimity
' in his Actions and Doings, the
' Dignity wherein he is alrea-
' dy constituted, the Promotion
' which he hath obtained, the
' Substance that he is of, his Re-
' putation, his Conduct, his Di-
' ligence, his Dexterity, his Di-
' scretion, his Policy, and, final-
' ly, the notable and high Fa-
' vour that the King's Highness
' and the said *French* King bear
' unto him, is only he; that he,
' being called unto the said Dig-
' nity Papal, may, can, and will
' meet with the inordinate Am-
' bition of the said Emperor,
' and consequently with the Esta-
' blishment of Tranquillity a-
' mong *Christian* Princes; and
' is, by the Assistance of his
' Friends, mete, convenient, and
' able to succour, retrieve, and
' clearly to repair the piteous
' Jacture and Decay that the
' Church and See Apostolick
' hath so long suffered, and to
' defend the same from the im-
' minent Danger now apparent
' to ensue, if the said Emperor,
' who, as the King's Highness is
' ascertained, is determined, in
' the beginning of *January*, to
' take his Journey towards *Rome*,
' should, upon this Vacation of
' the said See chanced, as is,
' upon many evident Presump-
' tions, to be thought, by some
' detestable Act committed for
' the said late Pope's Destructi-
' on, now, by Force, Violence,
' Cautele, Blandishing, Promises,
' or otherwise, have the Electi-
' on to proceed at his Will, Fa-
' vour and Devotion, whereby,
' having a Pope at his Arbitrate,
' either he should not fail to
' usurp and take from him
' the Right, Title, and Patri-
' monies of the Church, using
' him as his Chaplain and Vas-
' sal, or else by little and little
' utterly to exclude and extin-
' guish him and his Authority
' for ever."

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one of their Servants to the King of *France*, had been intercepted, complaining of the Princes hard Uſage, and imploring his Compaſſion, to exchange them for others of the Emperor's Subjects. Then they were removed to *Berlanga*, and thence again to *Pedraza de la Sierra*; being always maintained at the Charge of the Conſtable and his Brother, for which, as the *Spaniſh* Writers ſay, neither the Emperor nor the King of *France*, ever made them any Satisfaction.

Upon the Treaty of Peace being ſet on Foot, between *France* and the Emperor, the King's Mother obtained a Paſs for a Gentleman to viſit the Children, and ſee what Condition they were in. This Meſſenger, after a long Relation of his Journey, ſays, "He found the Princes in a Room that had "but little Light, without any Hangings; that "they ſat on Stone-ſeats made in the Wall, at a "Window ſecured within and without with ſtrong "Iron Bars; the Walls were eight Foot thick, and the "Window ſo high they could ſcarce ſee the Sky; "that their Cloaths were very mean and old; and "that they had forgot their *French*;" beſides mentioning many other Circumſtances to ſhew how hardly they were uſed.

But, after the Peace was proclaimed, the Empreſs, at the requeſt of Queen *Eleanor*, ordered the *French* Servants to be reſtored to the two Princes; that they ſhould be permitted the Liberty of the Town; cauſed them to be well cloathed, and their Lodgings handſomely furniſhed.

The Marſhal *de Montmorency*, then in high Station, was pitched upon to go and receive the two Princes and Queen *Eleanor* on the Frontiers of *Spain*; and, though he was at *Bayonne* by the 10th of *March*, 1530, the Ranſom was not paid, nor the Princes delivered, till towards the End of *June*. *

*Francis*,

* An Indication of much *Poverty* or great *Neglect*.

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*King* Francis's *Marriage.*

*Francis*, being adviſed of their Approaching, went from *Bourdeaux* to meet his new Queen and Sons, and upon the Interview there was all the Joy that can be imagined. The next Morning, an Hour before Day, the King married Queen *Eleanor*; ſoon after he cauſed her to be crowned Queen at *St. Dennis*; and then ſhe made a publick Entry into *Paris*. Thus the King of *France* was at laſt delivered from a War that had coſt ſo much Money, in which ſo many valiant Men had ſuffered, and anſwered no other Purpoſe than *horrid Devaſtation*: And, to moralize a little, it is even aſtoniſhing to us, that the Multiplicity of Examples of the like Kind, as well in ſacred as prophane Hiſtories, throughout the different Periods of Time, have had no more Influence of late Years; when, as is pretended, (not to mention *Religion*) as well our *Political* as *Oecumenical Reaſoning* is ſo much refined, as to become *all Philoſophy*: But, on the contrary, ſorry we have any Room to ſay it, that dire *Ambition*, or Itch after *Deſtruction*, or Thirſt for ſhedding *Blood*, ſeem but too much to be the Motives at this Day.

*Reſtores Learning, &c. in his Kingdom.*

The firſt Uſe *Francis* made of this Peace, was to reform ſeveral Diſorders that had crept in during the many Calamities attending his Kingdom: Next, in Imitation of the great Cardinal *Wolſey*, he applied himſelf earneſtly to the reviving the *Sciences*, which for a long Time had been very much neglected. It was not after this, as it was before, a ſort of Shame for a Gentleman to underſtand *Latin*; and it is on this account, that the People of *France*, even at this Time, give *Francis* the glorious Title of *the Reſtorer of Learning*, which will, no doubt, be an Honour on him to the lateſt Poſterity.

Whilſt the King was thus employed, the Princeſs, his Mother, died, who was a Lady of a great Genius for

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for managing the State. "However, though the "Hiſtorians of *Savoy*, ſays a *French* Writer, give "her a great Character, yet, when the People of "*France* reflect on what Troubles ſhe cauſed in that "Kingdom, her Memory will never be precious "to them."

*Venetians ſurrender all their Ports in* Naples.

The Emperor, the Beginning of the Year 1530, paſſed from *Barcelona* to *Genoa* with an Army, which ſoon obliged the *Venetians* to ſurrender to him the Ports they poſſeſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

*The Emperor reſtores* Milan *to Duke* Sforza.

Next, at the Pope's Inſtance, he reſtored to Duke *Sforza* the Dutchy of *Milan*, upon Condition of his paying him in Hand 400,000 Crowns, and 500,000 more in the Space of 10 Years, at different Times: And then the Emperor withdrew his Troops out of the Dutchy of *Milan*.

*The Emperor reconciles the Duke of* Ferrara *and the Pope.*

The Emperor alſo, by the Duke of *Ferrara*'s Conſent, undertook to reconcile the Pope and him: So that there only remained the *Florentines*, who refuſed to agree with the Pope, without keeping his Family from the Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy; therefore the Emperor ordered the Prince of *Orange* to beſiege *Florence*, and reſtore the *Medici*.

Florence *beſieged, and the Pr. of* Orange *killed.*

The Prince of *Orange* obeyed, and was killed in an Engagement by ſome of the Beſieged, who ſallied out of the Town, though they were beat back; yet the *Florentines* in general ſo deſperately ſuſtained the Siege, that they were reduced at laſt to eat Horſes, Aſſes, Cats, and Dogs.

*His Burial and Character.*

The Prince of *Orange*'s Body was ſtript in the Field by a *Frenchman*, and when found, was wrapt in a Blanket and thrown croſs an Horſe, in order to be conveyed to his Inter-

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Interment. He * was of the noble and antient Family of *Chaalon*, not above 30 Years of Age, but brave, generous, and well-beloved by the Soldiers, 2000 of which

* From this Prince that great Soldier, the late *William Henry*, Prince of *Orange* (who married the Princeſs *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of the late unfortunate King *James* the IId) was deſcended; whoſe martial Exploits againſt the *French*, in Defence of the Republick of *Holland*, before the *Revolution*, as alſo his Expedition into *England*, are ſo well known, that we need not repeat it here. But we ſhall juſt mention, that as Succeſs attended the Prince's Deſigns upon his Arrival at *Windſor*, in his Way to *London*, he ſent the Lord *Delamer*, together with the Marquiſs of *Halifax*, and the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, on the 17th of *November*, 1688, with a Meſſage to King *James*, commanding him to remove from *White-hall*, in order to give him Place, which Meſſengers (being introduced by the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State) they delivered it at one of the Clock in the Morning to the King, who was then in Bed, with which that unhappy Monarch complied.

Mr. *Collins*, in his *Britiſh Peerage*, obſerves upon this Change, 'That it was a remarkable Inſtance of the Viciſſitudes 'of Fortune, or rather the Appointment of an All-ruling Providence that that King, who had been a Spectator of the Ld. *Delamer*'s ſtanding at the Bar, upon a Trial for a pretended Charge of High Treaſon, where his Life and Fortune were at Stake, ſhould, in leſs than three Years ſee that Lord come to his Bed-ſide, to bid him depart his own royal Palace: A warning to all to uſe their Proſperity in ſuch Manner, as may beſt fit them for an unforeſeen Adverſity; remembring that on this Side the Grave, no Man can tell what is to befal him! And ſuch was the Uſe this Lord made thereof, whatever Temptation it might be to him, to have there ſhewn an inſulting Reſentment, that he compoſed himſelf with ſo much Decency and Reſpect to that then unhappy Prince; and ſo ſenſible was that King of this Lord's Civility to him on this Occaſion, that, after his Retirement into *France*, he ſaid, *The Lord* Delamer, *whom he had uſed ill, had then treated him with much more Regard than the other two Lords, to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it.*'

In ſhort, the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition had this Iſſue, that his Highneſs and the Princeſs his Conſort were declared, by Act of Parliament, King and Queen of *England*, &c. and both died poſſeſſed of theſe opulent Kingdoms; and that the former lived to ſee the Succeſſion ſettled in his preſent Majeſty's Line, as is before-mentioned in Vol. II. p. 272, 273.



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which died with him, and as many on the Enemy's Side.

The Repulſe the *Florentines* met with no way diſcouraged them, they continued eager for ſallying out upon the Beſiegers; but *Baillon*, their Commander, oppoſing, they ſuſpected he would betray them; which raiſed ſo great a Ferment, that a Senator was ſent to depoſe him from his Command; whom *Baillon* inſtantly ſtabbed, and turned the Cannon of a Baſtion againſt the City to defend himſelf. In much Confuſion the Multitude ran from one Extream to another; for, whereas nothing would ſerve before but they muſt ſally and die, now they cried to ſubmit to the Emperor; *Baillon* was employed to treat with *Gonzaga*, who ſucceeded the Prince of *Orange* in the Command of the Army, and the Capitulation was agreed on the 10th of *Auguſt*; the principal Article whereof was, "That the Emperor ſhould ſettle the Government "of *Florence*." Accordingly his Imperial Majeſty erected it into a Dukedom, and beſtowed it on *Alexlexander de Medicis*, Nephew to the Pope, and the Heirs of his Body; (and, for want of ſuch, to the neareſt of Kin) who was immediately put into Poſſeſſion of it, on the ſame Footing that his Anceſtors had formerly been, the Sovereignty being made hereditary in his Family, which laid the Foundation of the great Figure the Grand Dukes of *Tuſcany* afterwards made in the World; and, upon the Death of the laſt Duke of *Tuſcany* of the Houſe of *Medici*, his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Lorain* was put into Poſſeſſion, who is now Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*.

*The Emperor ſettles the Government of* Florence.

*Paſſes into* Italy.

The Emperor was ſome Time in making Preparations for his Coronation, and, having ſettled the moſt neceſſary Affairs, departed for *Italy*, and ſoon arrived at *Placentia*, attended by a grand Retinue;

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nue; upon this the Pope repaired to *Bologna*. His Imperial Majesty, hearing the Pope was come thither, set out immediately from *Placentia* to meet him, and on his Arrival 24 Cardinals received him at the Entrance of *Bologna*, he being all in Armour, except his Head, and on each Side of him two Gentlemen on Horseback strewing Money all the Way. In this Order they went directly to the Cathedral, at the Gate whereof a Scaffold was erected ascending by Steps, on which sat the Cardinals and Prelates; and at the Top, in his Chair of State, the Pope in his Pontifical Habit with the Tiara on his Head. The Emperor being come to the Scaffold, the Grandees of *Spain* came to help him to a-light, and two Cardinals from above conducted him up; being come up to the Pope he fell on his Knees, and kissed his Foot; but his Holiness lifted him up, and gave him the Kiss of Peace: Then his Majesty declared, "He was now "come, as he had long wished, into his Presence, "to settle the Affairs of Religion, and begged that "GOD would prosper his Intentions." His Holiness replied, "That he had desired nothing so much "as that Meeting, for which he thanked Almighty "GOD, and hoped all Things would have a happy "Issue." After some other Ceremonies they walked Hand in Hand to the Church-door; when the Pope went into his Apartment, and the Emperor into the Church, whence he retired to his own Lodgings, in the same Palace with his Holiness, parted by only a thin Wall, in which was a private Door, so that they might commune by themselves: And thus they continued for some time, concerting Matters of great Moment.

*Interview between the Pope and the Emperor.*

It was at first debated, whether the Emperor should be crowned at *Rome* or *Bologna*? * but, the latter



* It was remarkable that no Emperor had been crowned in *Italy* since *Frederick*'s Time, in the Year 1442.

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Place being agreed on, his Coronation was fixt to be on his Birth-day, the Feaſt of St. *Matthias*, *February* the 24th, (which had been, as the Conceit was, on ſeveral Occaſions, very fortunate to him) he then entring into the 31ſt Year of his Age. For this Purpoſe a Gallery was built, from the Pontiff's Palace to the Cathedral, for the Pope and the Emperor to march on without Interruption, which was moſt richly adorned. Two Days before the principal Ceremony, the Magiſtrates of *Monſa* brought the Iron Crown, which uſed to be put on at *Milan*, for the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, but was now ſet on his Head here: The next, which was the Coronation with the Golden Crown, was with the greateſt Ceremony and Solemnity that has been ſeen on any ſuch Occaſion. After the Emperor was got into the Cathedral the Gallery ſunk, and many of the Guards fell through, who were much hurt, tho' only one *Flemiſh* Gentleman was killed. Some ſuperſtitious *Italians* ſaid, *The breaking of the Gallery behind him portended, that the Way was cut off, and no more Emperors ſhould be crowned in* Italy.

*The Emperor crowned.*

*Holds a Diet at* Augſburg.

The Emperor returned on the 22d of *March* to *Germany*, attended by Cardinal *Campeius*, who was to be Agent for the Pope at the Diet to be held at *Augſburg*; which was accordingly held, and ended, as others had, without any material Determination; but ſome *Proteſts* were entered, on the Behalf of the *Lutheran* Princes, againſt ſundry Proceedings of the Diet, from whence all *Diſſenters* from the *Roman Catholick Religion* were called PROTESTANTS, as they are at this Day.

The Emperor's Aunt, *Margaret*, Governeſs of the *Low Countries*, died in the Month of *November* at *Mecklin*, whoſe Character we leave the Reader to collect from the Accounts we have given of her in the foregoing Hiſtory. And here we ſhall cloſe the

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the Year 1530, as to the Affairs of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Italy*.*

But it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the famous *Guicciardin* commences his Hiſtory of the Wars of *Italy*, with *Charles* the VIIIth's deſigned Expedition into *Italy*, in the Year 1590, and concludes with ſpeaking of the Death of Pope *Clement* the VIIIth, that happened on the 25th of *Sept.* 1533; (which we have given the Subſtance of in the Courſe of our ſhort *Memoirs*) and, on the Election of Pope *Paul* the IIId, he has theſe Words, "Touching Pope *Paul*'s Actions and Operations, whether "they anſwered the Expectations conceived of him, or "whether they were worthy the incredible Gladneſs, "which the People of *Rome* looked to have had, after the "End of 130 Years, and after the Succeſſion of 13 "Popes, and a Pope of Blood, by Nation a *Roman*, and "of the Language, Education, and Familiarity with "themſelves, whom it ſtandeth in Relation and Teſti-

"mony

* As we ſhall ſpeak nothing further of *Luther* or his Doctrines in particular, we ſhall juſt mention, that he continued to employ the Remainder of his Time in propagating his new Doctrine, and died on the 18th of *Feb.* 1546. *Bayle* ſays, 'A thouſand 'Fables have been invented concerning his Death; nor did they 'forbear publiſhing of Falſhoods 'upon this Subject after he had 'departed this Life. His greateſt 'Enemies could not deny but 'that he had eminent Qualities; and Hiſtory affords no'thing more ſurprizing than 'what he has done. For a ſimple Monk to be able to give 'Popery ſo rude a Shock, that 'there needed but ſuch another 'entirely to overthrow the *Romiſh* Church, is what we cannot ſufficiently admire.'

Whilſt the Troops of the Emperor *Charles* the Vth were quartered at *Wirtemberg*, in the Year 1547, a Soldier gave *Martin Luther*'s Effigy, in the Church of the Caſtle, two Stabs with a Dagger: The Emperor did a very generous Action at that Time; for he would not ſuffer *Luther*'s Tomb to be any way defaced or demoliſhed, and he forbid the inſulting any thing of that Nature, upon Pain of Death, which the *Spaniards* earneſtly ſollicited; but the Emperor very nobly anſwered, 'I have no'thing farther to do with *Luther*, 'he hath henceforth another 'Judge, whoſe Juriſdiction it is 'not lawful for me to uſurp: 'Know that I make War not 'with the Dead, but with the 'Living, who ſtill make War 'againſt me.'

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" mony to write of the Accidents happening in *Italy* " ſince his Election; ſo is to be verified the Sen- " tence of the Proverb, *The Office ſetteth out the* " *Dignity of the Perſon that manageth it.*"

*Affairs of* Scotland. 1527.

THE Queen being provoked by her Huſband, the Earl of *Angus*'s Behaviour to her, and detaining the King, her Son, againſt his Will, the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* perſuaded her to commence a Proceſs, in order to be divorced from him, for which they had this Cauſe to alledge, " That he, having been be- " trothen and given in Promiſe of Marriage to a " Noblewoman of the Kingdom, before he married " the Queen, could not be her lawful Huſband, by " reaſon of that Precontract." The Earl appeared to the Proceſs, and confeſſed the Charge againſt him, upon which the Archbiſhop pronounced the Divorce; but with this Reſervation, " That the Daughter of " the Queen's Body, begot by the Earl during their " Marriage, ſhould not ſuffer any Loſs, Damage or " Diſadvantage."

1528. Some time after this the Queen obtained from *Rome* a Sentence to confirm the Divorce, and then ſhe married *Henry Stuart*, afterwards created Lord *Meſſin*, which drew ſeveral of the Nobility againſt her, and her Party, attempting the King's Delivery by Force, were defeated near *Linlithgow*, and the Earl of *Lenox* ſlain. Yet the King made his Eſcape, from the Earl of *Angus*, to the Caſtle of *Sterling*; the Manner of which was thus: He ſupped ſooner than ordinary, and entertained the Captain of his Guard with more than common Ceremony, telling him, that he propoſed early the next Morning to take the uſual Diverſion of the Seaſon, and therefore deſired him to go to Reſt; which, in Obedience to his Prince, he complied with, the King pretending to go to bed too: But, as ſoon as the Court was ſtill, he ſhift-

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ed his Cloaths, and put on the Apparel of one of his Grooms; unperceived he paſſed the Guard to the Stable, from whence, with two that waited for him, he made his Eſcape to *Sterling*, where the Queen was ready to receive him: And great was the Earl of *Angus*'s Surprize, when he found the King was gone.

The next Day the King publickly declared, he would call a Parliament to ſettle the Affairs of the Nation; and, notwithſtanding ſeveral Attempts were made to prevent their Meeting, it was held in *September*. By the Votes of this Parliament the Earl of *Angus*, his Brother and Uncle, and *Alexander Drummond*, the Earl's great Friends, were condemned, their Goods confiſcated, and Proclamation was made, "That, if any one entertained them, he or ſhe ſhould "undergo the ſame Puniſhment."

The *Douglas's* now deſpairing of *Mercy*, foraged and ſpoiled the Country even to the Gates of *Edinburgh*, which put the young King upon raiſing Forces, in order to ſuppreſs theſe Inſurrections.

King *Henry* in the mean time, hearing of theſe Diſturbances, ſent Ambaſſadors about the end of *October* into *Scotland*, in order to treat of an Accommodation, which was effected; a Truce between the two Nations being agreed on for five Years; and the *Douglas's* were to deliver up the ſtrong Places they had in *Scotland* to their King, he giving them a Conſideration: But they on performing their Part, not finding the Rewards expected, retired into *England*, where they were honourably received by the King, and allowed Penſions.

It is true, *Alexander Drummond* was received into Favour, but whether on account of his Merit, or to divide the *Douglas* Faction, is uncertain: So that the young King a ſecond time took on himſelf the Reigns of Government, and was pleaſed to conſtitute of his Council, among others, the Earl of *Rothes*,

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*Rothes*,* the Earl of *Eglington*, † and the Lord *Livingſtone*. ‡

Affairs now began to bear a favourable Aſpect, the King had time to conſult the Welfare of his People, and make ſeveral good Regulations in the Government for their general Benefit. His Majeſty was likewiſe pleaſed to reſtore the moſt honourable Order of the Knights of *St. Andrew*, and erected a Throne or Stalls for them in *St. Michael's* Church in *Linlithgow*, making it the Chapel of the Order, according to the Uſage at *Windſor*: He was alſo the firſt that ordered the *Thiſtle* to be added to the Badge of the Order; and the Motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſet*, which is worne with the royal Arms, was given by him. In his Time the *Corden Verd*, or *Green Ribbon*, was worne by the Knights Companions of the Order; but King *James* the VIIth changed it to the *Blue Ribbon*, like that of the Knights of the *Garter* in *England*. After the *Union*, Queen *Anne*, to diſtinguiſh them, reſtored the *Green Ribbon*, and intended to have called a Chapter of the Order, with a Deſign to bring it again into its full Luſtre; but in this ſhe was diſappointed by Death.

* The Origin of this antient and noble Family was from *Hungary*, taking their Name from the Caſtle of *Leſley* in that Country: There were alſo at one time three General Marſhals of this Name to three ſeveral Princes; Count *Walter Leſley*, to the Emperor; *Alexander* Earl of *Leven*, to the King of *England*; and *David Leſley*, afterwards Lord *Newark*, to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*: And the preſent Right Hon. *John Leſley*, Earl of *Rothes*, is deſcended from the above Noblemen.

† This Nobleman left Iſſue *Hugh*, who dying without Iſſue his Eſtate came to Sir *Alexander Seaton*, his Couſin-german, by Vertue of an Entail, who changed his Name to *Montgomery*, and took the Arms and enjoyed the Honour of Earl of *Eglington*; and from this laſt mentioned Nobleman the preſent Right Hon. *Alexander Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington* is deſcended.

‡ This Lord, in the latter Part of his Life, had the Tuition of the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter of King *James* the Vth, but afterwards died in *France*; and from his Lordſhip the preſent Right Hon. *James* Earl of *Linlithgow* is deſcended.

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*James* the Vth was honoured with no leſs than four Orders of Knighhood; that of the *Garter*, conferred on him by his Uncle *Henry*; that of the *Golden Fleece* by the Emperor; that of *St. Michael*, by the King of *France*; and that of *St. Andrew*, for *Scotland*.

Notwithſtanding his Majeſty's Proceedings for the Good of his People, he perceived that 1529. ſome of his Nobility ſeemed inclinable to revolt, and therefore committed ſeveral of them to *Edinburgh* Caſtle, till they gave Hoſtages to ſecure the Borders againſt Invaſions; and in *June* the King, attended by a conſiderable Force, viſited the Frontiers, and executed Juſtice on all Thieves, Out-laws and Oppreſſors of the Poor, that were brought before him, there being no leſs than 38 of the former hanged: But he brought the King of the Thieves back to *Edinburgh*, where he was executed for more publick Example. By theſe Proceedings the King greatly gained the Affection of his People; and, among other Honours he beſtowed on ſome of his Subjects, he was pleaſed to confer that of Knighthood on *Andrew Murray*,* Steward of *Strathern*, who had attended him.

We

* This Gentleman's Predeceſſors ſprung from the Duke of *Athol*'s Family; but his Deſcendants are, the preſent Right Hon. *David* Viſcount *Stormont*; Baron of *Balvaird* and *Scone*, and hereditary Keeper of that Palace; *James*, now Abroad; and the Hon. *William Murray*, Eſq; who was of *Chriſt-church* College, *Oxon*, (founded by our Cardinal) from thence entered into the Hon. Society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, in order to perfect his Studies in the Law; in which Profeſſion he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and is now his Majeſty's Sollicitor-general: Whoſe great Merit the penetrating Genius of our Age early perceived.

*Yet Time ennobles or degrades each Line,*
*It brighten'd* CRAGGS, *and may darken thine:*
*And what is Fame? the Meaneſt have their Day,*
*The Greateſt can but blaze and paſs away:*
*Great as thou art, with all the Pow'r of Words,*
*So known, ſo honour'd, at the Houſe of Lords;*
*Conſpicuous Scene! another yet is nigh,*
*(More ſilent far) where Kings and Poets lie;*
*Where* MURRAY, *long enough his Country's Pride,*
*Shall be no more than* TULLY, *or than* HYDE.



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We omitted to mention in the Year 1499, that Sir *Patrick Hume* * was made Comptroller of *Scot-*

* From this Knight was descended Sir *Patrick Hume*, of *Polwarth*, Bart. who in 1665 was Knight of the Shire for *Berwick*, and by his publick Behaviour in that Capacity falling under the Displeasure of the then Government, was banished, and, after many Difficulties, arriving in *Holland*, was there received with great Kindness by the Prince of *Orange*, whom he attended into *England* in 1688; and, being very instrumental in bringing about the *Revolution*, and settling the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*, was by them made one of the Privy Council, created Lord *Polwarth*, and appointed Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*. He had assigned him, an *Orange proper*, enfigned with an Imperial Crown, placed in a Surtout of his Arms, as a lasting Mark, in all Times coming, of his Majesty's royal Favour to the Family of *Polwarth*. In 1697 he was created Earl of *Marchmont*, &c. In 1698 was made Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*; and died 1724.

This great Earl had several Sons and Daughters, his eldest Son *Patrick* was Lord Treasurer of *Scotland* in 1698, and died in 1708.

*Alexander*, the 2d Son, (the late Earl of *Marchmont*) being educated in the Profession of the Law, was in 1704 made one of the Lords of Session in *Scotland*: And afterwards served with great Honour in several Ambassies Abroad, and died *Feb.* 27, 1739.

His Lordship married *Margaret*, Daughter and Heiress of Sir *George Campbell*, by whom he had Issue at one Birth the present Earl of *Marchmont*, and the Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell*, Esq; Member of the last and present Parliament for the Shire of *Berwick*, who was made *Sollicitor General* to his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, the 1*st* of *Jan.* 1741, and called within the Bar by Patent of Precedence in *Easter* Term following.

The Character of the last Earl of *Marchmont*, and of his two Sons, (who are now such great Ornaments to their Country) already handed to the Publick, is as follows:

" His Thoughts were busy, his " Heart warm, his Soul transported with a Desire of advancing the Cause of his Country: To this he exhorted his " Friends; to this he trained up " his Children; to this he influenced all whom his Authority or Persuasions could move. " Thus lived, thus died this truly " virtuous, and therefore *Great* " *Man:* Nor were his Virtues " unrewarded by Providence, " even in this Life: He saw " them descend to his Children, " saw *two Sons* of *uncommon Abilities*, cultivating and improving those Abilities by *uncommon Application*, animating " them with the same noble " Spirit, and directing them to " the same generous Purposes, " as had inspired their Father in " the whole Course of his publick Behaviour, from his opposing the *Jacobite Frenzy* in " his earliest Youth, to his opposing the *Whig Corruption* in " the Decline of his Age."

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*Scotland*, and in great Favour with King *James* the IVth, of whom he obtained divers Lands in the Counties of *Sterling* and *Perth*, as that of the Barony of *Polwarth* had been obtained by his Father, who had given many signal Instances of his Valour, particularly at the Battle of *Roxburg*, when King *James* the IId was killed.

In the Year 1530 the King * fixed the *College of Justice* at *Edinburgh*, which before was removed from Place to Place, by Circuits, in which Suits were peremptorily decided by Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and other Judges; but when any great Cause offered, it was adjudged by the King in Council, who gave free Audience to all his Subjects. The College consisted of 15 Judges in ordinary; eight spiritual Persons, of which the most ancient is stiled President, and the other seven Laymen; besides four Counsellors extraordinary, renewable at the Prince's Pleasure. The Institu- James *the* Vth. 1530.

* After the Year 1530 King *James* lived pretty peaceably in his Kingdom for some time; and, as he was disappointed of marrying his Uncle's Daughter, the Princess *Mary*, he sailed into *France*, in the Year 1541, where he married *Magdalen*, King *Francis*'s eldest Daughter, tho' greatly against the Liking of the King of *England*. With this Princess he returned to *Scotland*, but she lived only a few Weeks after her Arrival; for she died in *July*, greatly lamented by the King and the whole Nation.

Next he demanded *Mary* of *Guise* in Marriage, which he obtained, and by this Queen he had a Daughter born, *Dec.* 8, 1543, five Days before his Death, who was christened *Mary*.

The King's Death was thus occasioned: He had raised an Army in order to make War with *England*, but in his March was deserted by his Nobility, who refused to follow him. Upon this he quitted the Command of his Army, and conferred it on the Lord *Maxwell*; after which he retired over the *Fief*; gave himself over to Sorrow, but yet was contriving Ways to be revenged on his Nobility. When he heard that his Queen was delivered of a Daughter, his last Words, according to Mr. *Drummond*, were, *It would end as it begun; the Crown came by a Woman, and it will with one go. Many Miseries approach this poor Kingdom; King* Henry *will get it by Arms or Marriage.* After which he said not many Words, but on the 13th of *Dec.* died, in the 33d Year of his Age, and 32d of his Reign; and the young Princess was immediately, upon her Father's Death, proclaimed Queen of *Scotland*.



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Inſtitution of this Court was in Imitation of one at *Paris*, founded by *Philip* the VIIth, King of *France*, in the Year 1288; and was ſoon found of ſo much Uſe, that the Pope himſelf confirmed it.

*Affairs of Ireland.* 1527. THE beginning of this Year Sir *Thomas Bulleyn*, who had married one of the Daughters and Coheirs of *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, was created Earl of *Ormond*.

Several *Iriſh* Potentates had for ſeveral Years received Penſions, on account of giving Protections to the King's Subjects, or at leaſt ſparing them from Plunder; but, though they punctually paid theſe Penſions, they were not always ſecure; for ſometimes their Effects were taken from them; which was looked upon ſo very oppreſſive, that firſt they were diſcountenanced by an Act of Council; and afterwards an Act of Parliament paſſed for extinguiſhing this Demand for ever, which from that Time has been diſuſed.

This

Mr. *Drummond* ſays, 'This 'King had an excellent Mind, 'and pity it was that it had not 'been carefully poliſhed: However, he was ſtudious of all good 'Arts, naturally given to Poeſy, 'as many of his Verſes yet extant 'teſtify; was a great Favourer of 'learned Men; the Poor loved 'him, and the Great feared him: 'Yet his burning alive the Lady '*Glames*, beheading of the Maſter 'of *Forbes*, and after him Sir '*James Hamilton*, turned many 'of his Nobles from him, and 'made the Commons detract him; 'for, tho' they delight ſometimes 'to have great Men made equal 'to them, when they find not 'evident Proofs for Execution, 'they abhor the Actors. Princes 'ſhould remember, that as the 'People are their Subjects, ſo are 'they themſelves the Subjects of 'Time and Providence. This 'Prince ſeems to be carried away 'by the Current of Grief; tho' 'all his Faults are but as a few 'Warts in a moſt pleaſing Face. 'A Prince's Name is ſurer preſerved in Paper, than in all the 'entombed Stones, which are liable to be deſtroyed at Pleaſure: 'For, after this Prince's Corps 'was entombed, the Church 'where he was buried was made 'equal to the Ground, by the 'Armies of his Uncle *Henry* the 'VIIIth.'

Some time after it was conveyed to another Vault, by his Grandſon, King *James* the Iſt of *England*, and VIth of *Scotland*, who cauſed it to be embalmed, and his Coffin to be adorned with the Arms of the Kingdom.

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This Year the *Sweating Sickneſs* was fatal in *Ireland*, whereof ſeveral *Iriſh* Gentlemen died, and among others the Lord Chancellor, who was ſucceeded in his Office by the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*. 1528.

Now the famous Emperor, *Charles* the Vth, took great Pains to ſtir up the Earl of *Deſmond* to rebel, for which Purpoſe he ſent an Ambaſſador to him; but, before any Steps could be taken, the Earl died; ſo that what the Emperor propoſed came to nothing: Yet the Deputy, hearing what his Imperial Majeſty was projecting in *Ireland*, ſo carefully looked after the Government, that all *Charles*'s future Schemes, to diſturb the Peace of that Nation, proved ineffectual; and ſoon after, having Affairs of greater Moment to employ him, he gave over his Deſigns upon *Ireland*. 1529.

King *Henry* about this Time was pleaſed to confer the Honour of Knighthood upon *William Brabaſon*,* Eſq; and ſome time afterwards made him Vice-treaſurer of *Ireland*, which he held to his Death, and was for ſeveral Years one of the Lords Juſtices thereof.

This Year Sir *William Skeffington*, † Knt. was made Maſter of the Ordnance in *England*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, who, by his good Government, contributed greatly towards reſtoring the Peace of that Nation. He died in *Dublin* about the Year 1534, and was buried in *St. Patrick's* Church, though a Monument is erected to his Memory at *Skeffington* in *Leiceſterſhire*, being the antient Seat of the Family. 1530.

His

* From this Knight the Rt. Hon. *Chambre Brabaſon*, Earl of *Meath*, is deſcended; and of this Family is the preſent Right Hon. the Earl of *Fingal*, whoſe great Anceſtor married the Lady *Suſan Brabaſon*, Siſter to the firſt Earl of *Meath*.

† The Right Hon. *Clotworthy Skeffington*, Viſcount *Maſſareen*, is deſcended from this Knight.

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His Majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute *Anthony St. Leger*,* Eſq; one of the Commiſſioners to ſettle the Affairs of *Ireland*, and in 1539 he was appointed Lord Deputy, and afterwards made Knight of the *Garter*: He died in 1542, and was buried in *Kent* among his Anceſtors.

In his Time *(Anno 1541)* an Act of Parliament paſſed for erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom, and from thence the King of *England* was ſtiled King of *Ireland*; whereas before he was only called Lord of *Ireland*. This Act was afterwards confirmed by an Act paſſed in *England*.

*Affairs of* England. 1528. *The Cardinal preſents* Hampton-court *to the King.*

THE Cardinal, notwithſtanding his cloſe Attention to Buſineſs, enjoyed at convenient times the Pleaſure of a Retreat at his Palace at *Hampton-court*,† (now compleatly finiſhed, and elegantly furniſhed) where the King often viſited him, being much taken both with the Situation and Beauty of the Structure. Upon this *Wolſey*, ever ſtudious to pleaſe his Royal Maſter, very generouſly preſented it to him, who as readily accepted of it, and, in Return, gave his Miniſter *Richmond* Palace to reſide in: And *Rapin* allows, "That this grand Preſent of *Hampton-court* "was a ſtately Palace, and outſhined all the King's "Houſes."

In thoſe Days it was eſteemed one of the moſt magnificent Structures in *Europe*; and *Cambden*, upon this Occaſion, is pleaſed to give *Wolſey* this Character: "That he built it out of Oſtentation to ſhew "his great Wealth, and that he was on all Ac-

"counts

* From this Lord Deputy the Right Honourable *Arthur St. Leger*, Viſcount *Doneraile*, is deſcended.

† The Ground, whereon the Cardinal built this famous Palace, was purchaſed of the Lord *St. John*.

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N.r Parr Sculp.

To her Grace MARY DUTCHESS of MONTAGU &c.
This Plate is humbly Inscribed by her Graces most obedient Serv.t Joseph Grove.




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" counts exceeding prudent, but Inſolence had carried " him beyond himſelf." But if there is any Conſiſtency in it, we wiſh our Readers may diſcover it.

No ſooner was this Palace in the King's Hands, but he enlarged the Buildings, which were ſo exceeding curious, that *Leland* celebrates them in the following Lines.

*A Palace which Nature's choiceſt Gifts adorn,*
*Where* Thames' *kind Streams in gentle Currents run,*
*The Name of* HAMPTON *hath for Ages borne.*
*Here ſuch a Palace ſhews great* HENRY's *Care,*
*As* Sol *ne'er views in his exalted Sphere,*
*In all his tedious Stage.* ———

And on the Marriage of the *Thames* and *Iſis* thus:

*To* HAMPTON *runs, whoſe State and Beauty ſhews,*
*A City here contracted in a Houſe.*
*This the grave Prelate* WOLSEY's *Care begun*
*To whom blind Fortune's Arts were fully known,*
*And all her Smiles daſh'd in one fatal Frown.*

This Royal Palace is environed on three Sides with the River *Thames*, and conſequently enjoys as pleaſant a Situation as the Prudence of its Founder could ſelect; for it was indeed, as our Author ſays, a Work of great Magnificence, for the Age it was built in. *

It

* Whoever knew *Hampton-Court* before it was begun to be rebuilt, or even altered by the late King *William*, muſt acknowledge it was a very complete Palace, and fit for a King; and though it might not, according to the modern Taſte of Building or Gardening, paſs for a Thing exquiſitely fine; yet it ſhewed a Situation exceedingly capable of further Embelliſhments, and of being made one of the moſt delightful Palaces in *Europe*; as that ſagacious Prince well knew, and his penetrating Queen was ſo ſenſible of, that, when the King had ordered the old Apartments to be pulled down, in order to be built in the moſt beautiful Form we ſee them now appear in, her Majeſty, impatient of enjoying ſo agreeable a Retreat, fixed upon a Building, formerly

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made

It is a juſt Obſervation, from the Situations of the old Abbies and Monaſteries, that the Clergy were excellent

made uſe of chiefly for landing from the River, called the *Water-gallery*; and here, as if her Mind had ſuggeſted ſhe had but a few Years to enjoy the ſame, ſhe ordered all the neat and curious Things to be done, which ſuited her own Conveniency, and made it the pleaſanteſt Place, within Doors, that poſſibly could be imagined; though, its Situation being ſuch as that it could not be allowed to ſtand after the great Building was finiſhed, we now ſee no Remains of it.

The Queen had her Gallery of Beauties, being the Pictures at full Length of the principal Ladies attending her Majeſty, or that were frequently in her Retinue; and they were the more agreeable Sight, as the Originals were all in being, and often to be compared with their Pictures. The Queen had here a fine Apartment, with a Set of Lodgings for her private Retreat, moſt curiouſly furniſhed; particularly a fine Chints-bed, then a great Curioſity; another of her own Work, while in *Holland*, very magnificent, and ſeveral others. Here alſo was her Majeſty's Collection of *Delf* Ware, very large and fine, together with a vaſt Stock of the fineſt *China* Ware, the like not then in *Europe*, the long Gallery, and every other Place, where it could be lodged with Advantage, being filled with it.

Her Majeſty had alſo here a ſmall Bathing-room, made very fine, and ſuited either for hot or cold Bathing, as the Seaſon ſhould invite; alſo a Dairy with all its Conveniencies, in which ſhe took great Delight. All theſe Places and Offices were finiſhed with great Expedition, that their Majeſties might repoſe thither while they ſaw the main Building go forward. And the Gardens were now laid out, the Plan of them being deviſed by the King himſelf; and eſpecially the Amendments and Alterations were made by the King, or Queen, or by both their particular Directions; for their Majeſties agreed well in their Fancy in that Reſpect, and had both good Judgment in the juſt Proportion of Things. Here the fine Limes, which form the Semicircle in the South Front of the Houſe by the Iron Gates, looking into the Park, were by the dexterous Hand of the head Gardner removed, after ſome of them had been almoſt thirty Years planted in other Places, though not far off, which thrive perfectly well.

While the Gardens were thus a laying out, the King alſo directed the Pipes for the Fountain and *Jetted Eau's*; and particularly their Dimenſions, and what Quantity of Water they ſhould caſt up, the Number of which were increaſed after the firſt Deſign.

The Ground, on the Side of the other Front, has received ſome Alterations ſince the taking down of the Water-gallery; but not that Part immediately next the Lodging.

The

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tellent Judges of the Beauty and Pleaſantneſs of the Country, and always choſe the beſt to ſettle in. It was more eſpecially ſo in this of *Hampton*, being finely ſituated cloſe to the River, yet not offended by the Riſing

The Orange Trees and fine *Dutch* Bays were placed within the Arches of the fine Building under the firſt Floor; ſo that the lower Part was a Green-houſe for ſome Time. Here ſtand, advanced on two Pedeſtals of Stone, two Marble Vaſes or Flower-Pots of moſt beautiful Workmanſhip, the one done by an *Engliſhman*, and the other by a *German*; and it is hard to ſay which is the beſt Performance, though the working of them was for a Trial of Skill, and give us room, without any Partiality, to apprehend they were both Maſters of their Art.

The Parterre on that Side deſcends from the Terras-walk by Steps; and on the left a Terras goes down to the Water-ſide, overlooking the Garden on the Eaſtward Front, and affords a a moſt pleaſant Proſpect.

The fine Scrolls and Brodure of theſe Gardens were at firſt edged with Box: But, on the Queen's diſliking thoſe Edges, they were taken up; yet they have ſince been planted again, at leaſt in many Places; nothing perhaps making ſo fair and regular an Edging as Box, or ſo ſoon brought to Perfection.

On the North Side of the Palace, where the Gardens ſeemed to want ſkreening from the Weather, or the View of the Chapel, and ſome Part of the old Building required to be covered from the Eye, the vacant Ground which was large, is very happily caſt into a Wilderneſs, with a Labyrinth and Eſpaliers ſo high, that they effectually take off all that Part of the old Building, which would have been offenſive to the Sight.

The Labyrinth and Wilderneſs are not only well deſigned and compleatly finiſhed, but perfectly well kept, and the Eſpaliers are filled to the very Ground, and led up to proportioned Heights; ſo that nothing of that Kind can be more beautiful.

The Palace itſelf is every way anſwerable on the Outſide to a pleaſing Proſpect, and the two Fronts are the largeſt, and, beyond Compariſon, the fineſt of the Kind in *Great Britain*.

The great Stairs go up from the ſecond Court of the Palace on the Right-hand, and lead you to the South Proſpect.

King *William* brought into *England* the Love of fine Paintings, (as well as that of fine Gardens) and you have an Example of it in the *Cartoons*, as they are called, being five Pieces of ſuch Paintings as are not to be matched in *Europe*. The Stories of them are known, but eſpecially two of them, *viz.* that of St. *Paul* preaching on *Mars* Hill, to the ſelf-wiſe *Athenians*, and that of St. *Peter* paſſing Sentence on *Ananias*, on which his Death immediately enſued.



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Riſing of its Waters in Floods and Storms, nor affected with any Foulneſs thereof at the Flowing and Ebbing of the Tide; for which Reaſon, though the Gardens extend almoſt to the Banks of the River, yet they are never overflowed; nor are there any Marſhes on either Side to make the Waters ſtagnate, or the Air unwholſome; the River being deep enough to be navigable, has a lively Stream, (looks always chearful, not ſlow and ſleepy like a Pond) which keeps the Waters ever clean, the Bottom in View, and the Fiſh playing in Sight: In a Word, it has every thing that makes an inland River pleaſant, agreeable, and profitable.

*Hampton-court* lies about two little Miles from *Kingſton upon Thames*, and, as the Road from *Stanes* to *Kingſton* ſtreightened the Park a little, they were obliged, in the Cardinal's Time, to part the Parks, and leave the Paddock and the great Park on the other Side of the Road; a Teſtimony of his Regard for the common Good, the Service of the Country; * and that

* To ſhew the Cardinal was ſtrictly right, in not diſgufting the People, by turning the Courſe of the common Roads or Highways, and how wrong thoſe muſt be, who have at any time made Attempts of that Kind, take the following Relation from the great Lord *Clarendon*'s *Hiſtory* of the *Rebellion*, Vol. I. p. 100.

'The King, (*Charles* the Iſt) 'who was exceſſively affected to 'Hunting and the Sports of the 'Field, had a great Deſire to 'make a great Park for Red as 'well as Fallow Deer, between '*Richmond* and *Hampton-court*, 'where he had large Waſtes of his 'own, and great Parcels of Wood, 'which made it very fit for the 'Uſe he deſigned it to; but, as 'ſome Pariſhes had Commons in 'thoſe Waſtes, ſo many Gentlemen and Farmers had good 'Houſes and good Farms intermingled with thoſe Waſtes, of 'their own Inheritance, or for 'their Lives, or Years; and without taking of them into the 'Park it would not be of the 'Largeneſs, or for the Uſe propoſed: His Majeſty deſired to 'purchaſe thoſe Lands, and was 'very willing to buy them upon 'higher Terms than the People 'could ſell them at to any body 'elſe, if they had Occaſion to 'part with them, and thought 'it no unreaſonable Thing upon 'thoſe Terms to expect this from 'his Subjects; and ſo he employed his own Surveyor and other 'of his Officers, to treat with 'the Owners, many whereof 'were his own Tenants, whoſe 'Farms would at laſt expire.

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that he would not, to gratify his Pleaſure, interrupt the Courſe of the Road, or cauſe the poor People to



'The major Part of the People 'were in a ſhort time prevailed 'with, but many very obſtinately 'refuſed; and a Gentleman, who 'had the beſt Eſtate, with a con-'venient Houſe and Gardens, 'would by no means part with it; 'and the King being as earneſt to 'compaſs it, it made a great Noiſe, 'as if the King would take away 'Men's Eſtates at his own Plea-'ſure. The Biſhop of *London*, '*(Juxton)* who was Treaſurer, 'and the Lord *Cottington*, Chan-'cellor of the *Exchequer*, were, 'from the firſt entering upon it, 'very averſe from the Deſign, not 'only for the Murmur of the 'People, but becauſe the Purchaſe 'of the Land, and the making a 'Brick-wall about ſo large a Par-'cel of Ground, (for it is near ten 'Miles about) would coſt a greater 'Sum of Money than they could 'eaſily provide, or than they 'thought ought to be ſacrificed to 'ſuch an Occaſion; and the Lord '*Cottington*, who was more ſolli-'cited by the Country People, '(and heard moſt of their Mur-'murs) took the Buſineſs moſt to 'heart, and endeavoured by all 'the Ways he could, and by fre-'quent Importunities, to divert 'his Majeſty from purſuing it, 'and put all Delays he could 'well do in the Bargains which 'were to be made; till the King 'grew very angry with him and 'told him, "He was reſolved to "go through with it, and had "already cauſed Brick to be "burned, and much of the Wall "to be built upon his own Land." 'Upon which *Cottington* thought 'fit to acquieſce.

'The building the Wall be-'fore People conſented to part 'with their Lands, or their Com-'mon, looked to them as if by 'degrees *they ſhould be ſhut out* '*from both*, and increaſed the 'Murmur and Noiſe of the Peo-'ple who were not concerned, as 'well as of them who were; and 'it was too near *London* not to 'be the common Diſcourſe. The 'Archbiſhop *(Laud)* who (de-'ſired exceedingly that the King 'ſhould be poſſeſſed as much of 'the Hearts of the People as was 'poſſible, at leaſt that they ſhould 'have no juſt Cauſe to complain) 'meeting with it, reſolved to 'ſpeak with the King about it, 'which he did, and received ſuch 'an Anſwer from him, that he 'thought his Majeſty rather not 'informed enough of the Incon-'veniencies and Miſchiefs of the 'Thing, than poſitively reſolved 'not to deſiſt from it. Where-'upon one Day he took the Lord '*Cottington* aſide (being informed 'that he diſliked it, and, accord-'ing to his natural Cuſtom, ſpake 'with great Warmth againſt it) 'and told him, "He ſhould do "very well to give the King "good Counſel and to withdraw "him from a Reſolution, in "which his Honour and Juſtice "was ſo much called in que-"ſtion." *Cottington* anſwered him 'very gravely, "That the Thing "deſigned was very lawful, and "he thought the King reſolved "very well, ſince the Place lay "ſo

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go out of the Way of their Buſineſs, to and from the adjoining Market-towns and Villages: Which certainly,

" ſo conveniently for his Winter-
" exerciſe; and that he ſhould by
" it not to be compelled to make
" ſo long Journeys, as he uſed
" to do, in that Seaſon of the
" Year, for his Sport; and that
" no Body ought to diſſuade
" him from it."

' The Archbiſhop, inſtead of
' finding a Concurrence from him
' as he expected, ſeeing himſelf
' reproached upon the Matter for
' his Opinion, grew into much
' Paſſion, telling him, " Such
" Men as he would ruin the
" King, and make him loſe the
" Affection of his Subjects; that,
" for his own Part, as he had
" began, ſo he would go on, to
" diſſuade the King from pro-
" ceeding in ſo ill a Counſel, and
" that he hoped it would appear
" who had been his Counſellor."

' *Cottington*, glad to ſee him ſo
' ſoon hot, and reſolved to inflame
' him more, very calmly replied
' to him, " That he thought a
" Man could not, with a good
" Conſcience, hinder the King
" from purſuing his Reſolution;
" and that it could not but pro-
" ceed from want of Affection to
" his Perſon, and he was not ſure
" that it might not be High Trea-
" ſon."

' The other, upon the Wild-
' neſs of his Diſcourſe, in great
' Anger aſked him, " Why?
" from whence he had received
" that Doctrine?"— ' He ſaid
' with the ſame Temper, " They
" who did not wiſh the King's
" Health could not love him,
" and they who went about
" to hinder his taking Recrea-
" tion, which preſerved his
" Health, might be thought, for
" ought he knew, guilty of
" the higheſt Crimes." Upon
' which the Archbiſhop, in great
' Rage and with many Re-
' proaches, left him; and either
' preſently, or upon the next Op-
' portunity, told the King, "That
" he now knew who was his great
" Counſellor for making his
" Park, and that he did not
" wonder that Men durſt not re-
" preſent any Argument to the
" contrary, or let his Majeſty
" know how much he ſuffered in
" it, when ſuch Principles in Di-
" vinity and Law, were laid
" down to terrify them." And ſo
' recounted to him the Confe-
' rence he had with the Lord *Cot-
' tington*, bitterly inveighing a-
' gainſt him and his Doctrine,
' mentioning him with all the
' ſharp Reproaches imaginable,
' and beſeeching his Majeſty,
" That his Counſel might not
" prevail with him;" taking
' ſome Pains to make his Con-
' cluſions appear very falſe and
' ridiculous.

' The King ſaid no more, but,
" My Lord, you are deceived,
" *Cottington* is too hard for you,
" upon my Word; he hath not
" only diſſuaded me more, and
" given me more Reaſons againſt
" this Buſineſs, than all the Men
" in *England* have done, but hath
" really obſtructed the Work,
" by his not doing his Duty as I
" commanded him, for which I
" have been very much diſpleaſ-
" ed with him; you ſee how un-
" juſtly your Paſſion hath tranſ-
" ported you." By which Repre-
' henſion he found how much he
' had

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tainly, when rightly conſidered, muſt greatly recommend his Memory with Honour; and, with Pleaſure we can ſay it, ſince this Palace has come into Royal Hands no Step has been taken to interrupt the Courſe of the Road in that Part of the Country: A noble Example worthy of Imitation.

*The Cardinal's Care of Archb.* Warham. 1528.

Archbiſhop *Warham*, at the beginning of this Year, was ſo extreamly ill, that he was not capable of going abroad, ſo that ſeveral Letters and Meſſages paſſed between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*, from which it fully appears, that he expreſſed great Tenderneſs and Care for his Conſtitution, and offered him the Uſe of a handſome Apartment in his pleaſant Palace at *Hampton-court*, before he made a Preſent of it to the King, believing the Change of Air might help to recover him to his former good State of Health. This and other Favours the Archbiſhop acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt Terms.*

This

'had been abuſed, and reſented it 'accordingly.'

Notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, the Park was incloſed in King *Charles* the Iſt's Reign, and continues ſo to this Day, and is now cloſer ſhut up than at the beginning; for no Perſons are permitted to paſs through it without producing Tickets, of which few or none are delivered to the Inhabitants thereabouts. Many have thought that the firſt Incloſing this Park was the Fore-runner of the melancholy Conſequences that followed, which we ſhall draw a Vail over, referring our Readers to Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory for the further Particulars of the Tranſactions of thoſe unhappy Times.'

* 'To the moſt Rev. Father in 'God, and my very ſingular 'good Lord, Cardinal of York, 'Legate de Latere, his good 'Grace.

'PLEASE IT YOUR GRACE 'to underſtand, that I have 'hitherto deferred to make an 'Anſwer unto your Grace's laſt 'Letters, becauſe I had thought, 'ſtrait after *Chriſtmas*, to have 'waited on your Grace, and to 'have communed with the ſame 'in divers Matters, which Sick-'neſs will not ſuffer me ſo to do, 'unleſs I ſhould do contrary to 'the Advice of my Phyſicians, 'and put myſelf in Jeopardy; 'nevertheleſs, if God ſend me 'any Amendment, I purpoſe to 'give Attendance on your Grace

'about'

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This Letter we apprehend is a perfect Evidence of *Wolsey*'s having dealt most respectfully and kindly by *War-*

'about the *Purification* of our *Lady*, and then to supply such Things as I omit in this Letter. First, as it is my very Duty and Office of kind Remembrance, I thank your Grace as heartily as I can, for your manifold Favours shewed unto me, many Ways heretofore; and now especially, that it hath pleased the same not only to advise me to make my Abode in high and dry Ground, as *Knolls* was, and such others, but also to offer unto me, of your singular Benignity and Goodness, a pleasant Lodging in your wholsome Mannor at *Hampton-court*, where I should not disease, neither be diseased, there to continue for the attaining of my Health as long as I should think it expedient; by which excellent Benevolence and Gratitude, expressing evidently your Grace's very tender Love to me, and by all other Tokens and Proofs of your Grace's assured and continual Favour towards me and my Servants, I repute myself so much bounden to your Grace, and think myself far unable to deserve or requite your Grace's said Favours and great Humanity; albeit, at all times, I would be ready and glad, with good Heart and Mind, (and so your Grace shall find me ever) to do your Grace any Service or Pleasure, that may be in my little Power with my Benevolence. I beseech your Grace to accept and take in Stead and Place of mutual Beneficence, where my Power is insufficent. And I intirely thank your Grace, that it hath pleased the same to write unto me in your last Letter, that your Grace would give Orders to your Officers, that as large and ample Favour should be shewed to my Nephew, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, as to all other Archdeacons, touching their Compositions with your Grace for their Jurisdictions; and for a Conclusion for my said Nephew his Jurisdiction, I have sent this Bearer, one of his Procurators, to your Grace's Officers to give Attendance in that Behalf. As touching my Officer, the Dean of my Court of Arches, I trust I have given him such Admonition as he will remember during his Life, and be well aware to busy himself in any Matters which may sound to your Grace's Discontention and Displeasure, and I hope your Grace will not deal extreamly with him, but only train him with continual Attendance for his learning to be more circumspect in Time to come; and that for my Sake your Grace hath also discharged him of the said Attendance, I heartily thank your Grace, affirming, without Colour or Dissimulation, that neither he, or any other Officer, Kinsman or Servants of mine, shall continue in my Service or Favour, which would hereafter

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*Warham*, his Relations, Dependants and Servants, during his Administration: Then, if this should be allowed, as we make no doubt but it will, what Credit is to be given to *Rapin*, and several other Authors, who have audaciously affirmed the contrary.

*The Cardinal founds his College at* Ipswich.

Having obtained a proper Authority, *William Brown*, the Prior of *St. Peter's* Priory, in *Ipswich*, surrendered it to the Cardinal *March* the 6th, 1527; upon this he immediately directed the Foundation of his intended College to be laid, the Fraternity of which was to consist of a Dean, twelve Canons, eight Singing-men, and as many Choristers, where Youth were to be educated, in order to fit them for his College in *Oxford*; and the Building was carried on with such Expedition, and gave so much Satisfaction, that it met with great Encouragement, not only from the Corporation of *Ipswich*, but from the Gentlemen round the Country.

The

'after willingly fall into your 'Grace's Displeasure or Indig- 'nation, and so I have declared 'unto them myself; shewing 'how good and gracious I find 'you towards me, and how it 'hath pleased your Grace to 'write unto me, that you would 'be as good unto them as they 'could reasonably and justly de- 'sire; so that they use and or- 'der themselves accordingly to- 'wards your Grace and yours, 'and as they ought to do. In 'which good and favourable 'Mind, I beseech your Grace 'ever to continue as Ye shall 'have me ever your perpetual 'Orator. I have lately set up 'a Writing both at *Knolls*, *Ot- 'ford*, and *Shoreham*, against 'such as misused a certain Ap- 'parator of your Grace's in these 'Parts, that the Misdoers appear 'before me in 15 Days under 'the Pain of Cursing, and I trust 'by that Means, or by other 'Espials, to tire them out, if 'it be possible, and then further 'to order them so as all other 'shall be warned by them of 'such Wilfulness and contemp- 'tuous Temerity. At my Man- 'nor of *Knolls*, the 12th Day 'of the Month of *January*.

'At your Grace's Com- 'mandment,

'*Will' Cantuar*"

See the Original in the *Record-Office*, near *Westminster* Abbey.

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The Cardinal ſoon after appointed *William Capon* Dean of this College, who repaired thither, and greatly haſtened the Buildings; and, as many of the Apartments were ready before the End of this Year, he ſent Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* down with ſeveral rich Pieces of Furniture, as well as Copes, Veſtments, and other Cloaths beſides Plate, the Receipt of which the Dean acknowledged in a Letter to his Eminence. During the Time Mr. *Cromwell* was there, he alſo took great Pains in ordering the further Progreſs of the Building and Furniture, particularly of the Hall.

After the Dean had given the Cardinal an Account of what Mr. *Cromwell* had tranſacted, he deſcends to relate how they ſpent other Parts of their Time as under mentioned. *

Mr.

* 'Upon our *Lady*'s Even, I, 'with all the Company of your 'Grace's College, as the Sub-'Dean, Mr. *Ellis*, ſix Prieſts, 'eight Clerks, and nine Cho-'riſters, with all our Servants, 'when we had finiſhed our 'Even-ſong in our College 'Church, then immediately af-'ter we repaired together to our '*Lady*'s, and there ſung Even-'ſong as ſolemnly and devout-'ly as we could, and there ac-'companied us Mr. *Stephens*, 'Dr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Cromwell*, 'with Mr. *Humphry Wingfield*, '(to whom all we of your Grace's 'College be much bounden un-'to, for his loving and kind 'Manner ſhewed unto us) the 'Bailiffs of the Town, with the 'Portmen and the Prior of '*Chriſt-church*, all the which ac-'companied us that ſame Night 'home again to your Grace's 'College, with as loving and 'kind a Manner as I have ſeen; 'and at their coming thi-'ther, they drank with me both 'Wine and Beer, and ſo that 'Night departed. On the next 'Day, which was our *Lady*'s 'Day, the 8th of *September*, a 'Day of very foul Weather, 'and rained ſo continually, that 'we could not go in Proceſſion 'through the Town to our *La-'dy*'s Chapel, according to our 'Statute, by your Grace made, 'but we made as ſolemn Pro-'ceſſion in your Grace's College 'Church as could be deſired; 'inſomuch that there were 40 of 'your Copes worn there, and 'as much People as could ſtand 'in the Church and in the 'Church-yard; alſo all the ho-'nourable Gentry of the Shire 'were there, as Maſter *Went-'worth*, Sir *John Willoughby*, 'Sir *Philip Tilney*, Mr. *Bewth*, 'Sir *Thomas Tey*, with Mr. *Be-'nefyelde*, Mr. *Pyrton*, Mr. *Jer-'meyne*, Mr. *Humphry Wing-'field*,

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Mr. *Cromwell*, having executed the different Truſts repoſed in him, returned to *London*, where he was ſo well

'*field*, with many other, to the 'Number of 24 Gentlemen of 'the Country, beſides the Bailiffs, Portmen of the Town, 'the Prior of *Chriſt* Church, the 'Prior of *Butley*, Dr. *Green*, Vicar of *Alborow*, as Commiſſaries both to your Grace and 'the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and 'the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Almoner, 'Mr. *Hege*; all the which were 'there, with what Good-will 'and Diligence they could, to do 'your Grace Honour that Day, 'and they all took Repaſt at 'Dinner in your Grace's College, and, as I truſt, well entertained with good Fare, and 'ſuch Faſhion as we could deviſe, wherewith they were 'right well contented and pleaſed, as I ſuppoſed.

'Furthermore, as for your 'Grace's College Church, one 'Man is not able both to attend 'and keep the Reveſtry, and 'do all Things in the Church; as 'to ring the Bells, keep the 'Church clean, prepare the Altar Lights, and other Neceſſaries, and to ſee all the other 'Ornaments well and ſufficiently repaired, and kept without 'any Impairing, and to ſet forth 'every Day all ſuch Things as are 'to be occupied about God's Service; therefore, by the Advice 'of Mr. *Stephens*, Mr. *Lee*, and 'Mr. *Cromwell*, I have put into 'the Church another Man to 'help the Yeoman of the Reveſtry, and named him *Sexton*, 'until the Time I know further 'of your Grace's Pleaſure in that 'Behalf: Alſo here be but five 'Prieſts, beſides your Sub-dean, 'which are too little a Number 'to keep in Maſſes every Day, 'according to your Grace's Statutes; and the Sub-dean cannot 'attend upon his Charge, for 'ſurveying of the Works and 'Buildings of your Grace's College; wherefore we moſt humbly deſire, and pray your 'Grace to have more Prieſts, 'to perform your Grace's Ordinance in your ſacred College, 'or elſe to diſpenſe with us for 'one of your Maſſes, either the '*Requiem* Maſs, or elſe our *Lady*'s Maſs, unto the time we 'be better furniſhed with Prieſts, 'to accompliſh and perform your 'Grace's Ordinance and Statutes 'therein; and, but for Mr. *Kentall*, we could in a manner do 'nothing in our Choir; he taketh very great Pains, and is always preſent at Mattins and 'all Maſſes with Even-ſong, and 'ſetteth the Choir in good Order from time to time, and 'faileth not at any time. He 'is very ſober and diſcreet, and 'bringeth up your Choriſters 'very well, aſſuring your Grace 'there ſhall be no better Children in any Place of *England*, 'than we ſhall have here, and 'that in ſhort time I have alſo 'made 15 *Albes* of the new 'Cloth I had of your Grace, 'delivered by the Hand of Mr. '*Alvarde*, your Grace's Servant, 'and yet there is 14 *Albes* more 'to be made, to the Suits now 'lately ſent by your Grace to 'us



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well received, that it was ſoon perceived by the Cardinal's Servants, *Cromwell* every Day gained the Goodwill of his Maſter.

The Corporation of *Ipſwich* was ſo pleaſed with the Cardinal's Founding his College there, that they wrote him the following Letter, the Original being preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office*; and thus addreſſed. "*To*

'us by Mr. *Cromwell*, beſides 'Albes for 14 Tunicles, and ſeven 'Pair of odd Parrers for Children. 'Furthermore, there have been 'ſent unto your Grace's College, 'againſt the Nativity of our *La-*'*dy*, nine Bucks, to wit, two from 'the Duke of *Norfolk*, two from 'the Duke of *Suffolk*, one from 'my *Lady* of *Oxford* the younger, 'one from Sir *Philip Bowth*, one 'from Mr. *Pyrton*, one from Mr. 'Scutiler, your Grace's Servant, 'and one from *Richard Caven-*'*diſh*, your Grace's Servant, 'which Bucks were ſpent on our 'ſaid *Lady day*, in your Grace's 'College, and in the Town of '*Ipſwich*; whereof *one Buck was* '*delivered to the Chamberlains of* '*the Town, for the* 24 *Head-men* '*of the ſame Town, and in Money* '*ten Shillings to make merry with-*'*al*, by the Advice of Mr. *Ste-*'*phens*, Mr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Crom-*'*well*; and *in like manner to the* 'Bailiffs Wives * *and Portmen's* 'Wives *to make merry with, a* 'Buck *and* 10 *Shillings*; and to 'the Curates of the ſame Town 'a Buck with ſix Shillings eight 'Pence in Money for their Pains 'and Labour in our Proceſſions. 'Alſo Mr. *Ruſh*, to whom all 'your Grace's College is much 'beholden, ever ready to do Plea-'ſures, and alſo to take Pains for 'us in all our Cauſes, at the 'ſame Day he gave to us ſix 'Couple of Coneys, two Phea-'ſants, and one Dozen of Quails. 'Alſo the Prior of *Butley*, he 'gave to us two Pheaſants and a 'fat Crane.

'Alſo we have received of 'Mr. *Dawndy* 171 Tons of Cane-'Stone, and, within a Fortnight 'after *Michaelmas* now next 'coming, we ſhall have 100 Tons 'more; ſo that your Workmen 'ſhall not be unoccupied for want 'of Stone.

'And the ſaid Mr. *Dawndy* 'hath promiſed to me, that, be-'fore *Eaſter* next coming, we 'ſhall have here ready 1000 'Tons more of the ſaid Cane-'Stone.

'And thus the *Holy Trinity* 'preſerve your Grace. From 'your Grace's College in *Ipſ-*'*wich*, the 26th Day of *Septem-*'*ber*, by your moſt bounden Ser-'vant and humble Chaplain,

'WILLIAM CAPON.'

See the original Letter in the *Cotton Library*.

* The Reader may perceive, that the Cardinal's Dean, and his Servant, Mr. *Cromwell*, did not forget the Bailiffs and Portmen's Wives, who they reſolved ſhould have Proviſions to make them merry as well as their Huſbands.

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" *To the Lord* CARDINAL*'s good Grace.*

" PLEASETH YOUR MOST NOBLE GRACE to understand, that we, your daily Beadſmen, do well " perceive the great Zeal and Goodneſs that your " Grace beareth and hath to the Weal and Proſperity " of this the King's Town of *Ipſwich*, and of the Proſ- " perity of the ſame, as well by making of your ho- " nourable College here of late erected to the Honour, " Laud, and Praiſe of Almighty God, and of our " Bleſſed Lady, as alſo by ſetting up your Grammar- " ſchool, and the ordering of the Form of the Learning " of the ſame, to the great Increaſe of Learning, of the " ſame virtuous bringing up of young Children as " well here as in other Places; which your two before " honourable rehearſed Acts be not only unto us, your " ſaid Beadſmen, a ſingular and great Comfort, but " alſo the People here, as well Children as our aged " Folks, do greatly rejoice at the ſame; for the which, " and for many other Benefits by your Grace to us " before this done, we, your ſaid Beadſmen, for our- " ſelves and in the Names of all the ſaid Inhabitants, " intending to be your daily Beadſmen, give unto " your moſt noble Grace our moſt humble Thanks: " And for that we right well know the ſame for our " Parts be not unto your Grace ſufficient and condine " Satisfaction, we therefore ſhall daily humbly pray " God to ſend unto your Grace in this World Life, " Honour, Proſperity, and Health in Body, with the " Accompliſhment of all your noble Acts, and in " the Life to come the Joys of Heaven. Written at " the ſaid Town of *Ipſwich*, the 8th Day of *Auguſt*,

" By your moſt humble and daily Beadſmen, *Henry* " *Stannard* and *Nicholas Harvy*, Bailiffs of the " ſaid Town, and other Portmen of the ſame,

" *James Hill*,
" *William Styſted*,
" *John Butler*."



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After

After the Receipt of this Letter the Dean of the College, by his Eminence's Order, applied to the Corporation to requeſt them to aſſign the Lands, formerly appropriated for the Uſe of their Grammar-ſchool at *Ipſwich*, to the School now founded by the Cardinal, towards the better Support and Maintenance of the Maſter thereof, which they readily complied with, as appears in the following moſt reſpectful Letter; the Original being likewiſe to be found in the *Exchequer Record-office.*

" *To my Lord* LEGATE's *good Grace.*

' PLEASETH YOUR GRACE to be advertiſed, that
' we, the Bailiffs, Portmen and Inhabiants of this
' the King's Town of *Ipſwich* have lately perceived,
" by Maſter Dean of your new College, of *Ipſwich* afore-
" ſaid, that your Pleaſure and Device is, that all ſuch
" Lands and Tenements, as of old Time have been
" limited and appointed to the Grammar-maſter there,
" ſhould be given to your new College, towards the
" Suſtentation of your new Maſter of Grammar of
" your School there, and his Succeſſors, and by your
" Grace appointed and ordained, *and that your Grace*
" *would have our Free Aſſent* unto the ſame.*

" It may pleaſe your Grace to be advertiſed, that
" we well apperceive and conſider the manifold Good-
" neſs that your Grace hath ſhewed, as well in the
" Erection of the ſame College and Grammar-ſchool
" there, *as alſo many and divers Things that it hath*
" *pleaſed your Grace to do to the Weal of the ſaid Town*;
" for which we confeſs ourſelves unable to make your
" Grace any ſufficient Recompence: But, as touching
" your ſaid *Requeſt* and *Deſire*, we *all* be not only
" content *freely* with our Aſſent to accompliſh and
" fulfil the ſame, but alſo to do and execute all and
" every other Thing that ſhall be hereafter your gra-
" cious

* Sure this is an Inſtance of his being of an equitable Diſpoſition, and not arbitrary, as his Enemies have been ſo fond of charging him with; here is no *Compulſion*, but *free Aſſent required.*

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" cious Pleaſure to advertiſe us to do for the Coro-
" boration of the ſame, as knoweth our Lord God;
" who ſend unto your Grace, our eſpecial good and
" gracious Lord, long Life and Health to his Plea-
" ſure, and to the full Accompliſhment of all your
" honourable Affairs. Written at *Ipſwich*,

" By your moſt humble and Daily Beadſmen,
" the Bailiffs of *Ipſwich*,

" *Thomas Hill*,
" *Thomas Claufer*."

Such was his Affection for this College, and ſo deſirous was he the Youth ſhould be properly educated there, by early learning Grammar Rudiments, that he gave a particular Direction, for the famous *William Lilly*'s Grammar to be made uſe of, and condeſcended himſelf to write a *Latin* Preface to it, a Tranſlation of which and the old Title follows.

" *RUdiments of Grammar, and a Method of Teaching,*
" *not ſo much preſcribed for the Uſe of the School*
" *of* Ipſwich, *happily founded by the moſt Rev. Lord*
" Thomas, *Cardinal, of* York, *as for all other Schools*
" *throughout* England."

" THOMAS, *Cardinal, of* York, &c. *to the Maſters of*
" Ipſwich *School, greeting.*

" WE imagine no body can be ignorant of the
" Care, Study, and Induſtry of Mind, with
" which we have hitherto directed our Labours, not
" for our own private Intereſt, but that of our Coun-
" try, and all our Citizens, which we have very much
" at heart; and in which Particular we ſhall deem
" ourſelves to have been moſt amply gratified, if,
" by any divine Bleſſing, we ſhould improve the
" Minds of the People. Wherefore, being filled with
" the utmoſt Zeal to promote Learning and Piety

" in

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" in our native Place, which ſhe claims of us as a " certain Right, we have founded a *Latin* School, no " ways inelegant, as an evident Teſtimony of our " chief Regard for her: But, as it would be imperfect " to erect a School, however magnificent, unleſs at- " tended by learned Maſters, we have every way ſtu- " died to give the Government thereof to two choſen " and approved Teachers, under whoſe Tuition *Bri-* " *tiſh* Youth may by degrees, from their earlieſt " Years, imbibe both Morals and Letters; well know- " ing that the Hopes of a Republick ariſe from their " Minds being then framed aright. And, that the ſame " may the more happily and ſpeedily be brought to " bear, we have taken all manner of Care, that ye " ſhould have ſuch Books as are moſt neceſſary for the " Inſtruction of them. In this our new School, whereof " ye are Maſters, ye muſt teach the Boys by Turns, " and diligently exerciſe them in the Rudiments and " Method of Learning, that they may afterwards be ad- " vanced to the moſt elegant Literature and the beſt " of Morals. To this Purpoſe, if ye Labour with " equal Care to our Satisfaction, ye ſhall not only de- " ſerve our great Favours for your Pains, but render " it alſo happy for your Succeſſors. Fare ye well. " From our Palace, *Ann. Dom.* 1528, *Kal. Sept.*"

Notwithſtanding the honeſt and generous Views the Cardinal had in erecting his College at *Ipſwich*, for the further Encouragement of Learning, and leaving a laſting Teſtimony of his Regard for the Place of his Birth, it had but a very ſhort Continuation; and, in about three Years after its Foundation, he fell with it, *being*, as *Shakeſpear* ſays, *unwilling to out-live the Good he did it:* But the Deſign of deſtroying his College, upon his Diſgrace, gave the Cardinal ſo great Concern that he regretted it to the laſt Moment of his Life; and therefore, as we apprehend, the Natives of the Town, when they remember the Legacy he propoſed

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propoſed to have left them, ought to reverence his Memory.*

Before this Year expired that great and good Man, Dr. *Fox*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, died, (who had been one of the Cardinal's chiefeſt Patrons) whoſe Character we leave the Reader to collect from what we have already ſaid of him. The Pope, at the King's Inſtance, beſtowed the vacant Biſhoprick † on Cardinal *Wolſey*, and ſent to *England* the proper Inſtruments to confirm him therein. *Death of Biſhop Fox.*

The

* We find this Relation given of the Town and *Wolſey*'s Foundion in *Camden*'s *Britannia*.

'*Ipſwich*, formerly *Gippewich*, 'a little City lowly ſeated, and 'as it were the Eye of the 'County of *Suffolk*, has a pretty 'good Harbour, and was for-'merly well fortified with Dit-'ches, *&c.* has a great Trade, 'and is very populous, being a-'dorned with fourteen Pariſh 'Churches, and large ſtately 'Buildings. We paſs by the 'four religious Houſes, now de-'moliſhed, and the magnificent 'College begun by Cardinal '*Wolſey*, a *Butcher*'s Son, and 'born in this Place; whoſe vaſt 'Thoughts were always taken 'up with extravagant Projects.'

But the modern Account of this Town is, *Ipſwich* is ſeated at the Diſtance of 12 Miles from *Harwich*, upon the Edge of the River which, taking a ſhort Turn to the Weſt of the Town, forms there a kind of Semicircle, or Half-moon, upon the Bank of the River. It is now a very neat and well built Town, and much larger than many Cities, and carries on a conſiderable maritime Trade; and, though it is but thinly inhabited, to what it has been, yet, whoever looks into the Churches and Meetings on a *Sunday*, will not, even in this Particular, think ſo meanly of it as ſome have done; for there are now in this Town 12 Pariſh Churches, out of the 14, beſides two Chapels in the Corporation-Liberty, and Meeting-houſes. It has a very ſpacious Market-place, in the midſt of which is a fair Croſs adjoining to the Butchers Shambles, very commodious and commonly ſuppoſed to have been built by Cardinal *Wolſey*. [This is a Miſtake, ſince it owes its Original to a much later Date, *viz.* the 40th Year of Queen *Elizabeth*.] The Town is governed at this Day by two Bailiffs, a Recorder, 12 Portmen, two Coroners, and 24 Common Council-men, *&c.* and ſends two Members to Parliament, who at preſent are Admiral *Vernon* and *Samuel Kent*, Eſq;

† This Biſhoprick is of great Antiquity, and the See has never been removed from it ſince the Foundation, which all the reſt have been in the South Weſt Parts. The City of *Wincheſter*, formerly

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The Cardinal upon obtaining this See, * quitted that of *Durham*, which was conferred on Dr. *Tunſtal*, Bi-

formerly the *Venta Belgarum* of the *Romans*, is pleaſantly ſeated in a Valley on the Banks of a River. The late learned Biſhop *Tanner* tells us, 'That the Mo-'naſtery there was founded by 'King *Lucius*, which is now the 'Cathedral.'

Formerly the Biſhops of *Winchester* had the Title of Earls of *Southampton*, and were ſo ſtiled in the new Statutes, of the Order of *St. George*, made by King *Henry* the VIIIth: But that Honour was taken away by the ſame Prince, for he created *William Fitz-Williams* Earl of *Southampton*, on the 18th of *October*, 1537.

The Cathedral beſides the Biſhoprick has been highly eſteemed, and the Biſhoprick was of ſo great Account for its large Privileges and Poſſeſſions, that King *Stephen*'s Brother, when Biſhop thereof, obtained a Faculty from the Pope to make it an Archbiſhoprick, and ſeven of the Suffragans of *Canterbury* were allotted thereunto; but this came to nothing. It is remarkable, that *William de Edington*, Biſhop *Anno* 1343, and firſt Prelate of the Order of the Garter, being elected into the See of *Canterbury*, refuſed it, ſaying, *Though* Canterbury *had the higheſt Rack, yet* Wincheſter *had the deepeſt Manger*. But the Monaſtery fell with the reſt, and was endowed at the general Suppreſſion with 1507 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* yearly. After which the Site and great Part of the Revenues were ſettled by King *Henry*, *Anno Regni* 32, on a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, ſix Minor Canons, ten Lay-clerks, eight Choriſters, and other Members, when the Cathedral was refounded, and dedicated to the *Holy* and *Undivided Trinity*.

The City is a Place of but little more Trade, than what is occaſioned by the Inhabitants of the City and neighbouring Villages: Here being neither Manufacture, nor Navigation, tho' it was once practicable and attempted; but, not being likely to anſwer the Expence, the Undertaking ceaſed The Clergy are not only numerous, but generally very rich. It gives the Title of Marquis to the Duke of *Bolton*, and ſends two Members to Parliament, who now are *William Paulet*, and *George Rodney Bridges*, Eſqs; and the preſent Biſhop is the Right Rev. and learned Dr. *Benjamin Hoadley*, who has highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Republick of Letters, by ſeveral elaborate Pieces, and is a great Encourager of the *Literati*.

'* *The Pope to the Clergy of* 'Wincheſter.

'CLEMENT, *Biſhop, Servant of* 'the *Servants of God, to our* 'beloved *Sons the Clergy of* 'the *Dioceſe of* Wincheſter, 'Health *and Apoſtolick Bene-*'*diction.*

, THIS Day, with the , Advice of our Brethren, , and by Authority Apoſtolick, , we have made, conſtituted and 'deputed

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Bishop of *London*, and his Eminence, immediately caused *Esher-place*, one of the Country Houses belonging

'deputed our beloved Son; *Thomas*, Cardinal Priest of *St. Cecile*, called of *York*, &c. perpetual Administrator of the See of *Winchester*, during his Life; in Spirituals and Temporals, then destitute by the Death of *Richard*, of good Memory, late Bishop thereof, who paid the Debt of Nature out of the Court of *Rome*, of pastoral Comfort, fully committing the Care, Charge, and Administration of the said See, in the said Spirituals and Temporals to him, as will more amply appear in our Letters thereon.

'Wherefore we command you severally by these Apostolick Letters, that admitting, with an agreeable Complacency, the said *Thomas*, Cardinal and Administrator, as the Father and Pastor of your Souls, ye shew him due, and humble Obedience and Reverence, and with Meekness, receiving his Admonitions and Charges, you carefully and effectually fulfil the same; Otherwise we shall hold and confirm, with the Help of the Lord, the Sentence which the said *Thomas*, Cardinal, shall have justly pronounced against Rebels, inviolably to be observed, until condign Satisfaction be made. Given at *St. Peter's* at *Rome*, in the Year of the *Incarnation* of our Lord 1528, on the 6th of the *Ides* of *February*, and in the 6th of our Pontificate.

'B. MOTTE.'

Another of the same Purport was sent to the Vassals of *Winchester*.

As soon as these arrived, his Majesty confirmed the Restitution of the Temporalities of *Winchester* to the Cardinal, in the following Letters Patent.

'*The* KING *to his Escheats, in* Southamptonshire *and* Winchester, *greeting*.

'WHEREAS the Lord Chief Pontiff, with the Advice of his Brethren and Authority Apostolick, on the See of *Winchester*'s having become vacant, by the Death of *Richard*, has made, constituted, and deputed the most Rev. Father in Christ, *Thomas*, by the Title of *St. Cecile*, Cardinal Priest, &c. to be perpetual Administrator during his Life of the See of *Winchester*, fully committing the Charge, Care and Administration of the Spirituals and Temporals of the said See to him, as appears by the Pope' Bulls directed to us on that Occasion, We, forasmuch as the said Cardinal has openly and expresly, in our Presence, protested against all and every the Words contained in the said Bull, which may be prejudicial to us and our Crown, and submitted himself in that Particular to our Favour, and being willing graciously to act in this Affair,

'Our-



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longing to the See of *Winchester*, to be repaired, and other Parts rebuilt, proposing to retreat thither, when the King resided at *Hampton-court*; and such Expedition was used in finishing this Seat, that it soon made a considerable Figure. In short, what remains of this Edifice shews the Cardinal's Judgment in *Architecture*; and, tho' *Esher-place* fell afterwards into *Lay-hands*, the Structure has been preserved with a great Exactness; insomuch, that it is at this Time in such beautiful Order, through the Means of the present noble Possessor, the Rt. Hon. *Henry Pelham*, Esq; Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, &c. that it is accounted a Building well worth the Sight and Observance of the Curious: Therefore we shall, when we mention the Cardinal's Retreat thither on his Fall, exhibit a View of the *East* and *West* Fronts thereof.

*Sir* John Russel *returns to* England.

Sir *John Russel*, who had been employed Abroad several Years, now returned to *England*, waited upon his Majesty, was most graciously received, and immediately entertained as one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, which was very acceptable to the Cardinal, who had a great Value for him.

As

'Ourselves have taken the due 'Fidelity of the said Cardinal, 'for the Temporals of the Bi'shoprick of *Winchester*, and we 'restore the Temporals thereof 'to him. Therefore we com'mand you to deliver the afore'said Temporals to the said Car'dinal with their Appurtenan'ces, in your Bailiwick, in the 'Form above mentioned; ex'cepting all Rights, &c. Wit'ness the King at *Westminster*, 'on the 6th of *April*.'

Orders of the same Nature were sent, bearing the same Date, to the King's Escheats in the Counties of *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Surry*, *Oxfordshire*, and *Berkshire*; and the Knights, Free-men, and all others, holding of the See of *Winchester*, were ordered to comply with every thing concerning the said Cardinal, as their Bishop and Lord.

Besides the foregoing Authorities, the Cardinal obtained a Bull from the Pope, to hold the Temporalities of the See of *Winchester*, dated the 6th of *February*, 1528; likewise Letters Patent from the King, dated the 20th of *October*, for the same purpose.

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As Sir *John* had married an Heireſs, the Cardinal, in Virtue of one of his high Offices, had the Care and Wardſhip of Sir *John*'s Children; and it appears from the following Letter, (the Original whereof being now in the *Exchequer Record-office*) that his Eminence had a more than ordinary Value for them, which will beſt ſpeak for itſelf.

" *Pleaſe your Grace,*

" I HAVE received your Letter, dated the 19th " Day of *June*, concerning the Death of my Son, " *Browthen*, and of the ſure Cuſtody of his Siſters, " and alſo the gracious Mind and Favour that your " Grace beareth unto my ſaid Son, and alſo for " the Truſt and Confidence your Grace bears me " for the Cuſtody of them; and at this Day I re- " ceived another Letter from your Grace, dated the " 1ſt Day of *July*, mentioning that your Grace un- " derſtandeth, by a Letter that I ſent to Mr. *Arun-* " *del*, and alſo by a Letter to Maſter *Hennes*, that great " Suit is made to the King for them, and that the " King thought they were his Wards. I ſhewed his " Grace, that your Grace had them from Heir to " Heir, wherewith his Grace was ſatisfied; and where- " as your Grace writeth ſomewhat ſharply, and in " a manner half in a Diſtruſt of me and my Wife, " how that we would beſtow the eldeſt without the " Conſent and Adviſement of your Grace; I would " be ſorry that your Grace ſhould have any ſuch " Opinion in me, ſeeing that I have borne my Heart " and Service unto your Grace above all Men living, " ſaving only the King. True it is, that the one of " them is at her full Age, and your Grace may be " well aſſured, that I would do nothing in that, till I " know further of your Grace's Pleaſure; but your " Grace knoweth well, that I muſt needs ſpeak in her " Behalf, as I am bound unto; notwithſtanding your " Grace may be aſſured, I would be glad to do " your Grace any Service that lieth in my Power:



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" But

" But this Miſtruſt, that you have in me, cometh " not of your Grace only; and if it pleaſe your Grace " to call to your Remembrance a Year and a half " paſt, I moved your Grace for a Marriage for my " younger Daughter, for one *Dormerſon*, what great " Offer he made; and at that Time your Grace was " contented, that I ſhould go through withal: But " I ſtaid always for two Cauſes; the one was, that " I would have been glad to have matched her with " ſome better Blood; and the other, if my Son *Brow-* " *then* ſhould depart to God, as he is now, that " it ſhould be a great Hindrance to your Grace. I " wrote to Maſter *Arundel*, that he ſhould move " your Grace in my Behalf, that it would pleaſe " your Grace to be ſo good a Lord to me, to let " me have the youngeſt, paying as much as another: " I do deſire her for nothing elſe, but for my Wife's " Pleaſure, for ſhe would be very loth that another " ſhould have her ſaid Daughter afore her; for it " is all her Joy in this World: And alſo it is " mentioned in your ſaid Letter, that I and my Wife " ſhould have the Keeping of her ſaid Daughter, ſo " that ſhe be kept in clear Air, which we will " do to the beſt of our Powers: But, rather than " your Grace ſhould have any Miſtruſt of me and " my Wife, I had rather they were out of my " Hands than otherwiſe. There is great Labour " made to the King, by Sir *Thomas Cheney* and " Sir *John Wallop*, and alſo to Mrs. *Anne*, for this " Matter, and the King was very deſirous of the " ſame. Maſter *Kingſton* deſired me to move your " Grace to be a good Lord unto him, that he might " be Steward of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Lands in " *Warwickſhire*, for he thinketh it is in your Grace's " Gift; and if your Grace did not beſtow the ſame " otherwiſe, I humbly deſire your Grace to give it " to him, whereby your Grace ſhall find him to do " your Grace what Service lies in his Power, which

" to

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" to do I think he will be very glad, as knoweth " God, who preſerve your Grace in his bleſſed ten- " der Tuition. Written at *Tylynganger*, the 2d Day " of *July*.

" *Your humble Servant*,

" J. RUSSEL."

It is not to be doubted, that after this Letter Matters were ſettled to Sir *John* and his Lady's Satisfaction; for that, it fully appears, even after the Cardinal's Diſgrace, that Sir *John* retained to the laſt his Affection for *Wolſey*.

*The Cardinal's further Care of his Fellow-ſubjects.*

The Cardinal's Regard for the Safety and Proſperity of Individuals in private Families, and the publick Affairs both at Home and Abroad, did not engroſs his whole Attention, but he readily liſtened to the Repreſentations from the Chiefs of the Religious Houſes, in reſpect to any Miſdeeds there committed; and where the Grievances complained of were notorious, and in his Power, he cauſed them to be redreſſed, as many Letters now in being fully ſhew. He alſo very readily attended to ſuch Applications that were made to him from any of the Cities and Corporations in the Kingdom, tending to preſerve or renew any of their antient Rights and Privileges, or to the encouraging or retrieving their Trade and Manufactures; the former he interceded with his Majeſty to grant and protect, and the latter he encouraged to the utmoſt of his Power, as appears in many other Letters; and, as a further Inſtance of the Cardinal's Reſpect for the City of *York*, take their own Acknowledgment, from an original Letter now in the *Record-office*.

" *Moſt Reverend Father in God, our moſt ſpecial, ſin-* " *gular, good, and gracious Lord*,

" IN our moſt humble Manner, with due Reve- " verence, we recommend us unto your Grace, " thank-

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" thanking your Grace, in our moſt humble Man-
" ner, for the great Pains and Goodneſs that your
" Grace hath oftentimes taken for the Preferment
" and maintaining your poor City of *York*, whereby
" we truſt now, by GOD's Grace and your moſt gra-
" cious Help, that it ſhall continue a City to our
" great Comforts; and that it may ſtand with your
" gracious Pleaſure, that we may conclude with the
" Earl of *Rutland*, by Writing, of the Certainty that
" we ſhall pay to his Lordſhip yearly for the Fee-
" farm Rent of the ſaid City: And moreover, we
" beſeech your Grace to be good and gracious unto
" us, touching the Grant for ſhipping *Wool* and
" *Fell*; and we ſhall daily pray to the *Bleſſed Trinity*
" to preſerve your ſaid Grace in Honour long to con-
" tinue. At the ſaid City of *York*, under the Seal
" of the Office of the Mayoralty of the ſame, the
" 27th Day of *January*,

" *By your Grace's moſt humble and daily Beadſ-*
" *men, the Mayor, and his Brethren, with the*
" *whole Commonalty of the City of* YORK."

Here we muſt obſerve, that, though *Rapin* and other Authors have been full of their malicious Reflections againſt *Wolſey*, none of them have charged him with any Attempt to *corrupt* or *influence* Perſons to ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament of his Recommendation; though it is plain, if he had been minded, he could have cauſed his own Friends and thoſe depending on him, to have been elected in many Places; on the contrary, he left them to chuſe ſuch Gentlemen as they thought proper, which we think is highly to his Honour. But, when *Cromwell* came into the Miniſtry, the Caſe was quite otherwiſe, for there are ſeveral Letters now in the *Exchequer Record-Office*, that ſhew he actually directed many Places to elect for their Members ſuch Perſons that he recommended to them. See our IId Vol. p. 261.

Now

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*Proceedings relating to the Divorce.*

Now we come on to ſpeak of the Proceedings relating to the King's Divorce from Queen *Catharine*, the oppoſing of which affected our Cardinal ſo much.

The Writer of the *Church Hiſtory*, after he has opened the Matter relating to the Divorce, ſays, "The Game being thus ſtarted, it was hotly purſued by various Perſons, upon various Motives: "The *French*, the *Spaniards*, the *Germans*, the *Italians*, one way or other, found themſelves concerned in the Controverſy, as well as the *Engliſh*; "and they made their Attack with the joint Force "of Politicks, under the various Shapes of Intereſt, "Revenge, Conſcience, and Paſſion."

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* early declared for the Validity of the Marriage, as appears from the following Letter.

*Biſhop* FISHER *to Cardinal* WOLSEY.

"*Health to your Highneſs,*

"HAVING now conſulted all thoſe called mute "Maſters, which have reached my Hands, and "diligently diſcuſſed the ſeveral Opinions and Reaſonings, I find, as I lately wrote to your Sublimity, "that they diſagree very much on the Point in "Queſtion; many aſſerting it to be contrary to divine Writ, while others confidently affirm it to be "no ways repugnant to the Laws of God. And, "having impartially weighed the Reaſonings of both "Parties, the Sollution appears eaſy to me; for all "the Arguments, advanced by thoſe who inſiſt on "its being unlawful by divine Right, may ſoon "be ſet aſide, while the Reaſons of the other Side, "who hold the Negative of the Prohibition, are not "ſo eaſy, by any ſolid Arguing, to be exploded. "If this be true, of which I have not the leaſt Doubt, "who then, conſidering the Fulneſs of the Power

"con-

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" conferred by CHRIST on the Pope, can deny that his " Holineſs may diſpenſe, for ſome arduous Cauſe, " with one to take to wife the Relict of his deceaſed " Brother by whom he had no Iſſue. However, " ſhould I allow the Arguments on both Sides to be of " equal Force, and none to out-weigh the other, but to " ſtand as it were ſuſpended in a Ballance, that both " might be eaſily ſolved, yet what would always oblige " me to be more inclined to acquieſce to the Pope's " Determination, is, that both Parties attribute the Ful- " neſs of his Highneſs's Power, an Authority for " interpreting the ambiguous Paſſages of Scripture, " having firſt heard the Opinions of Divines and " Civilians therein; otherwiſe CHRIST would in vain " have ſaid to him, *Whatever ye bind on Earth ſhall* " *be bound in Heaven.* Therefore, ſince it has plainly " appeared, that the Pope has more than once de- " clared, *That it was lawful, in the aforeſaid Caſe, to* " *grant a Diſpenſation to the ſecond Brother*, this " alone, if no further Motives had been advanced, " but were equal in their Allegations, as I have " ſaid, would unavoidably engage my Aſſent.

" But now, when I plainly ſee the Party which " ſupport the Pope's Authority in this Affair, to " have more efficacious Reaſons on their Side; be- " ſides, when I reflect with what Words and how " amply the Power was conferred by CHRIST on " the Pope; and laſtly, when I learn from the beſt " of Teſtimonies, that ſuch Diſpenſation was often " recommended to take effect, I can no longer have " any Scruple with regard to the Authority in " Queſtion, but that it is lawful for the Pope to " diſpence with one Brother to take to wife the Wi- " dow of a deceaſed Brother, by whom he had no Iſſue.

" Your Highneſs has my Thoughts on this Affair " in a few Words, to whom I wiſh long Life, in " Proſperity and Safety.

" JO. ROCHESTER."

But

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But the main Matter, says the *Church Historian*, "was to know how the See of *Rome* stood affected, "the Pope being regarded and applied to by all concerned, as the dernier Resort of the Controversy: "Wherefore Dr. *Knight*, Secretary of State, and *Stephen* "*Gardiner*, the Cardinal's Secretary, were dispatched "to make Interest with the Pope, to obtain what the "King had now so much at heart; besides, his Majesty had other very able Persons, both at Home and "Abroad, to manage the Cause in *Italy*, particularly "Sir *Gregory Cassali*, * (who had great Power with the "Court of *Rome*, was well skilled in Affairs, and, "though a Foreigner, entirely in the King's Interest) "and Mr. *Peter Vannes*. These received Instructions from Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was indefatigable "in promoting every Thing that was agreeable to his "Prince."

But, notwithstanding what this learned Author has been pleased to assert, it will appear in the Sequel of this History, that the Cardinal was so far from coming up in every Point to his Master's Desire, that he never gave any definitive Judgment in this Affair, though no one will doubt, if he had waved his own Opinion, it was in his Power.

On the other hand the Queen was not backward in acquainting the Emperor with the whole Proceedings, sending an express Messenger to him, in order that he might take care of her Interest at the Court of *Rome*.

*Fox* and *Gardiner*, having their Instructions, set forward for the Court of *Rome*, and on their Way thither sent and received divers Dispatches from his Eminence, relating to the Matters under their Care, as may be seen in the *Exchequer Record-office*. Being arrived

* The Family of the *Cassali*, being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, and other Places, who discharged their Trusts with great Honour.



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rived at *Rome*, they delivered their Credentials, which were well received by his Holineſs, who, to expedite their Buſineſs, ſhortly after appointed Cardinal *Campeius* to go over into *England*, that he, in Conjunction with Cardinal *Wolſey*, might ſit in Judgment on the Diſpute about the Divorce.

After *Campeius* was furniſhed with proper Inſtructions, he ſet out from *Rome*, in the Month of *July*, 1528, and in *October* following arrived in *London*, being ſix or ſeven Months after he was appointed Legate; and, whilſt he was upon the Road, the Emperor's Miniſters raiſed a freſh Obſtacle againſt the Divorce.

Before the Legatine Court ſat in *England*, Dr. *Knight*, Secretary of State, Mr. *Stephen Gardiner*, and Dr. *Fox* returned to *England*, having left the Buſineſs relating to the Divorce, to be tranſacted at *Rome* by Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, and Mr. *Peter Vannes*, the King's Ambaſſador there: And his Majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with *Gardiner* and *Fox*'s Behaviour at *Rome*, that he took them both into his Service, and made *Stephen* one of his Secretaries; but both attended him wherever he reſided.

The renowned *Shakeſpear* gives us this Scene * relative to the Steps taken previous to the Divorce.

As

* *Enter the Lord Chamberlain, the Dukes of* Norfolk *and* Suffolk.

*Nor.* Well met, my Lord Chamberlain!
*Cham.* Good Day to both your Graces.
*Suff.* How is the King employ'd?
*Cham.* I left him private,
Full of ſad Thoughts and Troubles.
*Nor.* What's the Cauſe?
*Cham.* It ſeems the Marriage with his Brother's Wife
Has crept too near his Conſcience.
*Suff.* No; his Conſcience
Has crept too near another Lady.
*Nor.* 'Tis ſo;
This is the Cardinal's doing; the King-cardinal,
That blind Prieſt, like the eldeſt Son of Fortune,
Turns what he liſt. The King will know him one Day.

*Suff.*

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As soon as the News of *Campeius*'s Arrival in *England* was known at *London*, great Preparations were

 made

*Suff.* Pray God he do! he'll never know himself else.
*Nor.* How holily he works in all his Business,
And with what Zeal! for now he has crackt the League
'Tween us and the Emperor, the Queen's great Nephew,
He dives into the King's Soul, and there scatters
Doubts, Dangers, Wringing of the Conscience,
Fears and Despair, and all these for his Marriage,
And, out of all these to restore the King,
He counsels a Divorce, a Loss of her,
That, like a Jewel, has hung twenty Years
About his Neck, yet never lost her Lustre;
Of her that loves him with that Excellence,
That Angels love good Men with; even of her,
That, when the greatest Stroke of Fortune falls,
Will bless the King: And is not this Course pious?
*Cham.* Heav'n keep me from such Counsel! 'tis most true,
This News is ev'ry where, every Tongue speaks it,
And every true Heart weeps for't. All, that dare
Look into these Affairs, see his main End,
The *French* King's Sister. Heav'n will one Day open
The King's Eyes, that so long have slept upon
This bold, bad Man.
*Suff.* And free us from his Slavery.
*Nor.* We had need pray, and heartily, for Deliverance;
Or th'imperious Man will work us all
From Princes into Pages; all Men's Honours
Lie like one Lump before him, to be fashion'd
Into what Pitch he pleases.
*Suff.* For me, my Lords,
I love him not, nor fear him: There's my Creed:
As I am made without him, * so I'll stand,
If the King please; his Curses and his Blessings
Touch me alike; their Breath I'll not believe in.
I knew him, and I know him; so I leave him
To him that made him proud, the Pope.
*Nor.* Let's in;
And, with some other Business, put the King
From these sad Thoughts that work too much upon him.
My Lord, you'll bear us Company!
*Cham.* Excuse me,
The King has sent me other-where; besides,

You'll

* Yet he acknowledges in a Letter, that his chief Friend, next the King, was the Cardinal. See our IId Vol. p. 258.

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made to receive him; but, being much afflicted with the Gout, he choſe to come to Town privately; ſo that,

You'll find it a moſt unfit Time to diſturb him:
Health to Your Lordſhips! [*Exit Lord Chamberlain.*
*Nor.* Thanks, my good Lord Chamberlain.

*The Scene draws, and diſcovers the King ſitting and reading penſively.*

*Suff.* How ſad he looks! ſure he is much afflicted.
*King.* Who's there? ha!
*Nor.* Pray God he be not angry.
*King.* Who's there, I ſay? how dare you thruſt yourſelves
Into my private Meditations?
Who am I? ha!
*Nor.* A gracious King, that pardons all Offences
Malice ne'er meant: Our Breach of Duty this Way
Is Buſineſs of th' State; in which we come
To know your royal Pleaſure.
*King.* Ye are too bold!
Go to; I'll make ye know your Times of Buſineſs:
Is this an Hour for temporal Affairs? ha!

*Enter* Wolſey, *and* Campeius, *the Pope's Legate, with a Commiſſion.*

Who's there! my good Lord Cardinal? O my *Wolſey!*
The Quiet of my wounded Conſcience;
Thou art a Cure fit for the King. You're welcome,
Moſt learned rev'rend Sir, into our Kingdom,
Uſe us, and it; My good Lord, have great Care
I be not found a Talker.
*Wol.* Sir, you cannot:
I would your Grace would give us but an Hour
Of private Conf'rence.
*King.* We are buſy; go.
*Nor.* This Prieſt has no Pride in him!
*Suff.* Not to ſpeak of:
I would not be ſo ſick though for his Place:
But this cannot continue.
*Nor.* If it do,
I'll venture one Heave at him.
*Suff.* I another. [*Exeunt* Norfolk *and* Suffolk.
*Wol.* Your Grace has given a Preſident of Wiſdom
Above all Princes, in committing freely
Your Scruple to the Voice of *Chriſtendom:*
Who can be angry now? What Envy reach you?

The

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that, on the 9th of *October*, he took Water at *St. Mary Overy's*, and landed at *Bath-place*, where he was visited by *Wolsey* and divers of the Nobility and Gentry. After

The *Spaniard*, ty'd by Blood and Favour to her,
Must now confess, if they have any Goodness,
The Trial just and noble. All the Clerks,
I mean the learned ones in *Christian* Kingdoms,
Have their free Voices. *Rome*, the Nurse of Judgment,
Invited by your Noble Self, hath sent
One gen'ral Tongue unto us, this good Man,
This just and learned Priest, Cardinal *Campeius*,
Whom once more I present unto your Highness.
*King*. And once more, in my Arms, I bid him Welcome,
And thank the holy Conclave for their Loves,
They've sent me such a Man I would have wish'd for.
*Cam*. Your Grace must needs deserve all Strangers Loves,
You are so noble; to your Highness's Hand
I tender my Commission, by whose Virtue
(The Court of *Rome* commanding) you, my Lord,
Cardinal of *York*, are join'd with me, their Servant,
In the impartial Judging of this Business.
*King*. Two equal Men! the Queen shall be acquainted
Forthwith for what you come. Where's *Gardiner?*
*Wol*. I know your Majesty has always lov'd her
So dear in Heart, not to deny her what
A Woman of less Place might ask by Law,
Scholars allow'd freely to argue for her,
*King*. Ay, and the best she shall have; and my Favour
To him that does best, God forbid else. Cardinal,
Pr'ythee call *Gardiner* to me, my new Secretary,
I find him a fit Fellow.

*Enter* Gardiner.

*Wol*. Give me your Hand; much Joy and Favour to you;
You are the King's now.
*Gard*. But to be commanded
For ever by your Grace, whose Hand has rais'd me.
*King*. Come hither, *Gardiner!* [*Walks and whispers.*
Deliver this with Modesty to the Queen. [*Exit* Gardiner.
The most convenient Place that I can think of,
For such Receit of Learning, is *Black-fryars:*
There ye shall meet about this weighty Business.
My *Wolsey*, see it furnish'd. *O! my Lord,*
*Would it not grieve an able Man to leave*
*So sweet a Bedfellow?* But Conscience,— Conscience—
O! 'tis a tender Place, and I must leave her! [*Exeunt.*

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ter he was a little recovered, though not able to walk, he was carried in a Chair by four Perſons, and introduced to the King's Preſence by the Cardinal of *York*, and both Cardinals being ſeated on the Right-hand of the King's Throne, *Franſceſco*, *Campeius*'s Secretary, addreſſed himſelf to the King in *Latin*, in which he related "with what Cruelty the Emperor's Soldiers "had handled the Pope, the Tyranny they had ſhewed to the Cardinals and Prieſts, the Sacrilege and "Spoil they had committed in *St. Peter's* Church; "how they had violated Virgins, raviſhed Men's "Wives, ſpoiled, robbed, and tormented all the *Ro*"*mans* and Inhabitants in the City of *Rome*; then re"cited what Friendſhip the College of *Rome* had met "with at the Royal Hands of the Kings of *England* "and *France*, in the Time of that Tribulation; that, "if they had not joined together, the City of *Rome* "with all their Governors had been brought to Ruin: "For which Pope *Clement*, and all his College of Car"dinals, the Senators, with all the Citizens, rendered "to the King their hearty Thanks, and promiſed him "their Love, Favour, and Amity perpetual."

To this Speech Dr. *Fox*, Provoſt of *Cambridge*, made anſwer, and as to the firſt Point declared, "That the King much lamented to hear his Friends, "or any other *Chriſtian* Men, ſhould be handled with "Tyranny:" To the ſecond, "That the King had "done but the Duty of a *Chriſtian* Prince, to relieve "his Friends in Diſtreſs, for which he deſired that the "whole City of *Rome* would give Thanks to God, "and not to him."

Whilſt Matters were preparing for the Trial *Campeius* had an Audience of the Queen, when he took Occaſion to acquaint her of the Danger of the preſent Diſpute, and, endeavouring to perſuade her to retire to a Monaſtery, ſeemed to charge her with ſome unſeaſonable Freedoms and Miſconduct in her Behaviour; for that, ſince the granting of the Legate's Commiſſion, ſhe

was

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was obſerved to allow Dancing and Court-diverſions more than before, and to appear in Publick with an unuſual Air of Chearfulneſs and Spirit; whereas the Condition of her Circumſtances ought to have made her more grave, and recollect, that the Perplexity of the King's Conſcience, not to mention other gloomy Appearances, were no Motives for Satisfaction.

The Queen, by no means pleaſed with this Diſcourſe, replied poſitively, *That ſhe was reſolved to ſtand by the Marriage allowed by the Apoſtolick See:* So that *Campeius*, finding there was no good to be done with the Queen, took his Leave, and returned to his Majeſty, to acquaint him with what had paſſed.

*Stow* ſays, "The common People talked largely in "reſpect to *Campeius*'s Arrival in *England*, by ſaying, the King wanted another Wife, and had ſent "for this Legate in order to get rid of his Queen: "Particularly the Women charged him with Incontenency, and that there was more *Paſſion* than *Conſcience* in this Application."

The King, hearing of the daily Grumblings of his People, thought proper to call before him the great Men of his Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, beſides others of inferior Degree were admitted; to whom he made the following Speech.

* *The King's Oration, ſpoken on the* Ides *of* November, 1528.

"VENERABLE and dear Aſſembly of Prelates, "Peers and Counſellors, which the common "Care of Adminiſtring well for the Republick and our "Kingdom has brought together. It is no Secret "to you, that, by Divine Providence, we have theſe "twenty Years† almoſt governed this our Realm with "ſo much Happineſs, that in all that Time it was free "from hoſtile Incurſions; and we, in thoſe Wars "which

* Mr. *Parker*'s *Ant. Brit.* p. 475.

† Eighteen of which the *Cardinal* had the Conducting of Affairs.

" which we had undertaken, always came off victo-
" rious; and though we may juſtly glory, that the
" Subject never reaped greater Tranquillity, Riches,
" or Honours, in former Ages, under the Reigns of
" our Predeceſſors and Progenitors, the Kings of *Eng-*
" *land*, than in our Days: Yet, when the Thoughts
" of this Glory and Death meet together, we tremble,
" leſt, by our Death, without lawful Iſſue, you ſhould
" undergo Calamities greater than the Advantages
" received in our Life-time. The Memory of thoſe
" bloody Times muſt be ſtill freſh in the Minds of
" ſome of you, when *Richard* the IIId brought upon
" the Carpet and diſputed the Title of our Grandſire,
" *Edward* the IVth, by the Mother's Side, and deprived
" his Heirs and Iſſue of the Kingdom and Life. The
" dire Slaughter of the People, while the Houſes of
" *York* and *Lancaſter* contended for the Kingdom and
" Empire, are but too well known in Hiſtory; and, if
" the Marriage lawfully contracted between *Henry* the
" VIIth, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, our renowned Pa-
" rents, ſhould be extinguiſhed in us, and the Royal
" Offspring, which God forbid, of our Marriage, which
" ought afterwards lawfully to reign, ſhould not be
" born, this Kingdom may waſte itſelf with civil or
" inteſtine Troubles, or fall into the Hands and Poſ-
" ſeſſion of Foreigners: For though we have had the
" Lady *Mary*, ſingular both in Beauty and Shape,
" which was of great Comfort to us, by the moſt
" noble Lady *Catherine*, yet we have been lately in-
" formed, by pious and learned Divines, that we had
" married her who was formerly the Wife of Prince
" *Arthur*, our Brother; that our Marriage was prohi-
" bited by Divine Writ; and that the Iſſue of ſuch
" Marriage would not be eſteemed legitimate: And
" that which gives us much greater Pain and Torment
" is, having ſent Ambaſſadors laſt Year to negotiate
" a Marriage between the Duke of *Orleans* and our
" Daughter *Mary*, with *Francis* King of *France*, it

" was

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" was answered by one of his Counsellors, *That, be-*
" *fore the treating of such an Affair, whether* Mary *was*
" *a legitimate Child should be first enquired into? It be-*
" *ing evident,* added he, *that she was begotten of the Lady*
" Catherine, *his Brother's Relict, and that such a Mar-*
" *riage is, by Divine Right, prohibited.*

" With what Fear and Horror has this Speech dis-
" turbed our Mind! for the Matter imports no less
" than the Hazard of eternal Salvation both of Body
" and Soul, and with what perplexed Thoughts does
" it possess our Conscience! we are persuaded you can-
" not be ignorant; you, whose Lives and Fortunes
" would be in Danger, but much more the Loss of
" Souls, if you did not apply proper Remedies.
" This one Thing, which, witness God, we affirm on
" our Royal Word, pushes us on, that by our Am-
" bassadors we should seek the Opinions of the most
" learned Divines throughout the whole *Christian*
" World, and send for the *Roman* Pontiff's Legate, in
" order to pronounce a true and just Sentence in so
" great a Cause, that afterward we may be able to
" live with a calm and safe Conscience, in lawful Ma-
" trimony: And, if it should clearly and manifestly
" appear by Holy Writ, that the conjugal State, in
" which we have lived almost twenty Years, be per-
" mitted by Divine Right, nothing shall be more
" wished for or agreeable to us, as well for the Tran-
" quillity of our Conscience, as the lovely Qualities
" with which the Queen is endowed and adorned.
" For, besides her being of royal and noble Birth,
" attended with so much conjugal Duty and Affabi-
" lity, together with other Ornaments of her Mind,
" and Qualities which illustrate Nobility, that she
" has seemed to us to have so far excelled all other
" Women these twenty Years, that, were we now
" single and free from Marriage, and that it was
" lawful by Divine Right, we would, preferably to all
" other Women, join her by a lasting and firm Con-



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" tract of Marriage to us. But if, by this Sentence, " our Marriage ſhould be declared prohibited by Di- " vine Right, and to have been null and void from " the Beginning, this our unhappy Caſe is to be de- " plored and lamented by a Flood of Tears, not only " becauſe I am to be ſeparated from the Society and " Company of ſo illuſtrious and lovely a Woman, but " much more ſo, for that, being deceived by the Shew " or Likeneſs of Matrimony, we enjoyed one another " for many Years in Embraces more than vitious, " without any lawful Iſſue, upon our Demiſe, to ſuc- " ceed in this renowned Kingdom.

" Theſe are our Cares, theſe our Solitudes, which " Day and Night vex and torment our Mind and " Conſcience; for the removing and diſperſing of " which, we ſeek for a ſeaſonable Remedy from this " Legation and Judgment: Therefore we entreat you, " in whoſe Honour and Fidelity we have great Confi- " dence, that you declare our true and genuine In- " tention and Meaning with regard to this Affair, " which you have had now from our own Diſcourſe, " to the People; and that you excite them to join in " Prayer with us, for the Appearance of Truth in " the Sentence, which has been this many Years " wrapped up in Darkneſs, whereby Peace and Tran- " quillity may be reſtored to our *troubled Conſcience*."

The Speech was differently reliſhed, ſome pitied the King, but the Queen's Caſe had much more Compaſſion; ſome ambitious People, who, its like, had the Proſpect of mending their Fortunes, were pleaſed to ſee the Waters diſturbed, applauded the King's Proceedings, and pretended that his Highneſs's Reſolutions were very pious, and ſerviceable to the Publick.

In the Courſe of theſe Tranſactions, ſeveral Applications had been made to the Court of *Rome*, by *Fox*, *Gardiner*, and Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, to obtain a *Decretal Bull* to aſcertain the Divorce, in Caſe the Legatine Court

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Court ſhould be of Opinion his Majeſty's firſt Marriage was invalid, his Holineſs accordingly directed it to be made out, and committed it to the Truſt of Cardinal *Campeius*; but as he did not, when requeſted, produce it, Complaint was made to the Court of *Rome*, in a Letter from *Wolſey* to *Caſſali*, dated *Dec.* the 17th, 1528; to which he replied, "That he had attended "his Holineſs on the Complaint, who delivered for "Anſwer, —— Had not his Requeſt been out of "the common Courſe it ſhould have been complied "with at firſt, without giving the King and him ſo "much Trouble; and bid him not inſiſt any fur-"ther upon it." However, the Application had this Effect, *Campeius* gave the King a Sight of the Decretal Bull, but would not be prevailed with to leave it for a Minute either with his Highneſs or *Wolſey*; and the Pope, for fear of worſe Conſequences, and to keep fair with the *Engliſh* Court, ſent *Francis Campana* to *England* to give the King Expectations of further Favours from *Rome*, and to deliver the following Letter to the Cardinal.

*The* POPE's *Letter to* WOLSEY, *for giving Credence to* CAMPANA.

"*Beloved Son*,

"WE have not judged it convenient to anſwer by "Letters, the Matters lately laid before us "by the Ambaſſadors of the King, our moſt beloved "Son in CHRIST; wherefore, we have ſe.. our "truſty Friend, *Francis Campana*, over, from whom "his Serenity and you may fully underſtand our "Thoughts, as well with regard to the Peace of all "*Chriſtendom*, as his Majeſty's private Affair, which "we have very much at heart; and we recommend "it to your Care, to perſuade his Majeſty as well as "yourſelf, that we have, and ſhall proceed with pa-"ternal Benevolence toward his Serenity; and that "whatever We have hitherto ſignified to him has



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" flowed from a Motive of Affection, which our be-
" loved Sons Cardinal *Campeius* and the ſaid *Francis*,
" will deliver more at large to you, to whom we de-
" ſire you would give moſt ample Credit. Given at
" *Rome* the 15th of *February*,

" CLEMENT, *with his own Hand.*"

It ſeems plain *Campana*'s Coming and ſmooth Meſſage gave but little Satisfaction; yet the Preparations for opening the Legatine Court was carried on with great Diligence, though it was ſome time before they were compleated.

*The* Legatine *Court opened. Firſt Day.* 1529

The Meaſures being now adjuſted for hearing the Cauſe relating to the Divorce, the Legate's Court was prepared at *Black-fryars*, and the King having, by a Warrant under his Great Seal, given them Leave to execute their * Commiſſion, they ſat on the 31ſt of *May*, which was exhibited by *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

CLE-

* Concerning this Court hear *Shakeſpear*.

SCENE.

*Trumpets, Sonnet, and Cornets. Enter two Vergers, with ſhort Silver Wands; next them two Scribes in the Habits of Doctors; after them, the Biſhop of* Canterbury *alone; after him, the Biſhops of* Lincoln, Ely, Rocheſter, *and St.* Aſaph; *next them, with ſome ſmall Diſtance, follows a Gentleman bearing the Purſe with the Great Seal, and the Cardinal's Hat; then two Prieſts, bearing each a Silver Croſs; then a Gentleman-uſher bare-headed, accompanied with a Serjeant at Arms, bearing a Mace; then two Gentlemen bearing two Silver Pillars; after them, ſide by ſide, the two Cardinals, two Noblemen with the Sword and Mace. The King takes Place under the Cloth of State; the two Cardinals ſit under him as Judges. The Queen takes Place ſome Diſtance from the King. The Biſhops place themſelves on each ſide the Court in Manner of a Conſiſtory; below them, the Scribes. The Lords ſit next the Biſhops. The reſt of the Attendants ſtand in convenient Order about the Court.*

*Wol.* WHilſt our Commiſſion from *Rome* is read,
Let Silence be commanded.

*King.*

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## CLEMENT *the* VIIth's *Commission for trying the Cause of the* DIVORCE.

" Clement, *Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to*
" *our beloved Sons*, Thomas *of* St. Cecile *and* York,
" *and* Laurence Campeius *of* St. Mary *beyond* Ty-
" ber, *Cardinal Priests, Legates a Latere, from us*
" *and the Apostolick See, in the Kingdom of* England,
" *Health and Apostolick Benediction.*

" WE have often heard, from Persons worthy
" of Credit, of the Dispute lately raised, re-
" lating to the Validity of that Marriage which
" *Henry*, our most beloved Son, King of *England*,
" and Lord of *Ireland*, acknowledges to have been
" contracted and consummated with our most beloved
" Daughter, Queen *Catherine*, in Virtue of a Dispen-
" sation from the apostolick See, which has not as yet
" been brought before the Tribunal of the Church;
" but, as the Issue, which Justice and Equity shall
" give to so great and important a Cause, keeps the
" Minds

*King.* What's the need?
It hath already publickly been read,
And on all sides th'Authority allow'd,
You may then spare that Time.
*Wol.* Be't so, proceed.
*Scribe.* Say, *Henry*, King of *England*, come into the Court.
*Cryer. Henry*, King of *England*, &c.
*King.* Here!
*Scribe.* Say, *Katherine*, Queen of *England*, come into the Court.
*Cryer. Katherine*, Queen of *England*, &c.
[*The Queen makes no Answer, rises out of her Chair, goes about the Court, comes to the King, and kneels at his Feet, then speaks.*]
Sir, I desire you do me Right and Justice,
And to bestow your Pity on me; for
I am a most poor Woman, and a Stranger,
Born out of your Dominions; having here,
No Judge indiff'rent, and no more Assurance
Of equal Friendship and Proceeding. Alas! Sir,
In what have I offended you? what Cause
Hath my Behaviour given to your Displeasure?
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good Grace from me. Heaven witness,

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" Minds of all the People there in ſuch Suſpence, that " it requires a mature and deliberate Definition, and " to be managed with the utmoſt Nicety and Care: " Wherefore, We, whom God hath appointed the " Servant of Servants, to adminiſter Juſtice in Judg- " ment, and Truth impartially to all, not being able " of ourſelves to examine and come at the Truth " of the Fact; and conſidering beſides, that the " Fact, which gives Birth to this Affair, may be " known with greater Truth and Expedition there " than

I've been to you a true and humble Wife,
At all times to your Will conformable;
Ever in fear to kindle your Diſlike,
Yea, ſubject to your Count'nance, glad or ſorry,
As I ſaw it inclined. When was the Hour
I ever contradicted your Deſire?
Or made it not mine too? Which of your Friends
Have not I ſtrove to love, although I knew
He were mine Enemy? What Friend of mine,
That had to him deriv'd your Anger, did I
Continue in my Liking? Nay, give notice
He was from thence diſcharg'd? Sir, call to mind,
That I have been your Wife, in this Obedience,
Upward of twenty Years, and have been bleſt
With many Children by you. If in the Courſe
And Proceſs of the Time you can report,
And prove it too, againſt mine Honour aught,
My Bond of Wedlock, or my Love and Duty
Againſt your ſacred Perſon; in God's Name
Turn me away, and let the foul'ſt Contempt
Shut Door upon me, and ſo give me up
To the ſharpeſt Kind of Juſtice. Pleaſe you, Sir,
The King your Father was reputed for
A Prince moſt prudent, of an excellent
And unmatch'd Wit and Judgment. *Ferdinand*,
My Father, King of *Spain*, was reckon'd one
The wiſeſt Princes, that there had reign'd, by many
A Year before. It is not to be queſtion'd,
That they had gathered a wiſe Council to them
Of every Realm, that did debate this Buſineſs,
Who deem'd our Marriage lawful. Wherefore humbly,
Sir, I beſeech you, ſpare me, 'till I may
Be by my Friends in *Spain* adviſ'd; whoſe Counſel
I will implore. If not, i'th' Name of God,

Your

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" than here, and desiring to put an End to all Matter " of Discord in that Kingdom, which has been always " most obsequious to the Apostolick See, that it may " enjoy that agreeable Concord of Peace and happy " Harmony of Charity to latest Posterity, and firm- " ly, validly, and maturely to determine the Cause " relating to the aforesaid Marriage in Judgment, " Justice, and Truth, as it is most expedient, we com- " mit it to your Circumspection to hear all and singu- " lar the Matters concerning the Validity or Nullity " of

Your Pleasure be fulfill'd.

*Wol.* You have here, Lady,
(And of your Choice) these rev'rend Fathers, Men
Of singular Integrity and Learning,
Yea, the Elect of the Land, who are assembled
To plead your Cause. It shall be therefore bootless
That longer you defer the Court, as well
For your own Quiet, as to rectify
What is unsettled in the King.

*Cam.* His Grace
Hath spoken well and justly; therefore, Madam,
I'ts fit this royal Session do proceed,
And that without Delay their Arguments
Be now produced, and heard.

*Queen.* Lord Cardinal,
To you I speak.

*Wol.* Your Pleasure, Madam.

*Queen.* Sir,
I am about to weep; but thinking that
We are a Queen, or long have dream'd so, certain
The Daughter of a King, my Drops of Tears
I'll turn to Sparks of Fire.

*Wol.* Be patient yet ——

*Queen.* I will, when you are humble; nay, before,
Or God will punish me. I do believe,
Induc'd by potent Circumstances, that
You are mine Enemy, and make my Challenge,
You shall not be my Judge: For it is you
Have blown this Coal betwixt my Lord and me,
Which God's Dew quench! therefore I say again,
I utterly abhor, yea, from my Soul
Refuse you for my Judge, whom yet once more

I hold

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" of the ſaid Marriage, or Apoſtolick Diſpenſation,
" which ſhall be produced or exhibited before you,
" and to take Cognizance thereof, and of all other
" Things, Allegations, and Reaſons, relating and ap-
" pertaining to the ſaid Marriage and Diſpenſation,
" and to proceed ſummarily and plainly in the Affair
" of the Marriage and Validity of the Diſpenſation,
" the Parties being cited, without Noiſe or Buſtle,
" or Shape of Judgment: And to pronounce and de-
" clare the apoſtolical Diſpenſations as valid, effectual,
" ſuf-

I hold my moſt malicious Foe, and think not
At all a Friend to Truth.
*Wol.* I do profeſs
You ſpeak not like yourſelf, whoever yet
Have ſtood to Charity, and diſplay'd th'Effects
Of Diſpoſition gentle, and of Wiſdom
O'er-topping Woman's Power. Madam, you wrong me,
I have no Spleen againſt you, nor Injuſtice
For you, or any; how far I've proceeded,
Or how far further ſhall, is warranted
By a Commiſſion from the Conſiſtory,
Yea, the whole Conſiſtory of *Rome*. You charge me,
That I have blown this Coal; I do deny it.
The King is preſent; if't be known to him
That I gainſay my Deed, how may he wound,
And worthily, my Falſhood? yea, as much
As you have done my Truth. But if he know
That I am free of your Report, he knows
I am not of your Wrong. Therefore in him
It lies to cure me, and the Cure is to
Remove theſe Thoughts from you. The which before
His Highneſs ſhall ſpeak in, I do beſeech
You, gracious Madam, to unthink your ſpeaking,
And ſay no more.
*Queen.* My Lord, my Lord, I am
A ſimple Woman, much too weak t'oppoſe
Your Cunning. You are meek, and humble-mouth'd;
You ſign your Place and Calling, in full ſeeming,
With Meekneſs and Humility; but your Heart
Is cramm'd with Arrogance, with Spleen and Pride.
You have, by Fortune and his Highneſs's Favours,
Gone ſlightly o'er low Steps, and now are mounted
Where Pow'rs are your Retainers; and your Words,

Do-

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" ſufficient, or null, ineffectual, inſufficient, ſurrep-
" titious, obreptitious, or in any other Manner ener-
" vated, if ſo you ſhall find them, and to be held
" for ſuch: Likewiſe to declare the ſaid Marriage,
" if required by either of the Parties, to be valid, juſt,
" lawful, and firm, as the Law ſhall perſuade you in
" your own Conſcience; or, on the contrary, to be,
" and to have been invalid, unjuſt, illegal, and null:
" And if the Diſpenſation ſhould be diſallowed, and
" the Marriage declared null, judicially to give a
" defi-

Domeſticks to you, ſerve your Will as't pleaſe,
Yourſelf pronounce their Office. I muſt tell you,
You tender more your Perſon's Honour than
Your high Profeſſion ſpiritual. That again
I do refuſe you for my Judge, and here
Before you all, appeal unto the Pope
To bring my whole Cauſe 'fore his Holineſs,
And to be judg'd by him.

[*She courtſies to the King, and offers to depart.*

*Cam.* The Queen is obſtinate,
Stubborn to Juſtice, apt t'accuſe it, and
Diſdainful to be try'd by't; 'tis not well.
She's going away.

*King.* Call her again.

*Cryer. Katherine*, Queen of *England*, come into the Court!

*Uſher.* Madam, you are call'd back.

*Queen.* What need you note it? Pray you keep your Way!
When you are call'd, return. Now the Lord help!
They vex me paſt my Patience——— Pray paſs on;
I will not tarry; no, nor ever more
Upon this Buſineſs my Appearance make
In any of their Courts.

[*Exeunt Queen and her Attendants.*

*King.* Go thy ways, *Kate!*
That Man i'th' World, who ſhall report he has
A better Wife, let him in nought be truſted,
For ſpeaking falſe in that. Thou art alone
(If thy rare Qualities, ſweet Gentleneſs,
Thy Meekneſs Saint-like, Wife-like Government,
Obeying in commanding, and thy Parts
Sovereign and pious, could but ſpeak thee out)
The Queen of earthly Queens. She's noble born;



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" definitive Sentence of Divorce ſummarily and plain-
" ly without Buſtle or Shape of Judgment. Laſtly,
" to grant to the ſaid King *Henry* and Queen *Cathe-*
" *rine* Leave and Faculty in the Lord, to change to
" other Vows. Granting and committing unto you
" jointly, and, either of you refuſing, or being other-
" wiſe prevented, ſeparately, all our Authority over
" all the Degrees and Juriſdiction of the Perſon,
" Non-compliance and Appeals excluded. We alſo,
" out of our certain Knowledge, appoint and de-
" pute

And, like her true Nobility, ſhe has
Carried herſelf towards me.
*Wol.* Moſt gracious Sir;
In humbleſt Manner I require your Highneſs,
That it ſhall pleaſe you to declare, in Hearing
Of all theſe Ears, (for where I am robb'd and bound,
There muſt I be unloos'd, although not there
At once and fully ſatisfy'd) If I
Did broach this Buſineſs to your Highneſs, or
Laid any Scruple in your Way, which might
Induce you to the Queſtion on't; or ever
Have to you, but with Thanks to God for ſuch
A royal Lady, ſpake one the leaſt Word,
That might be prejudice of her preſent State,
Or Touch of her good Perſon?
*King.* My Lord Cardinal,
I do excuſe you; yea, upon mine Honour,
I free you from't: You are not to be taught,
That you have many Enemies, that know not
Why they are ſo; but, like the Village-curs,
Bark when their Fellows do. By ſome of theſe
The Queen is put in Anger; y're excus'd:
But you will be more juſtify'd? you ever
Have wiſh'd the ſleeping of this Buſineſs, never
Deſir'd it to be ſtir'd; but oft have hinder'd
The Paſſages made tow'rds it. On my Honour
I ſpeak, my good Lord Cardinal, to this Point;
And thus far clear him. Now, what mov'd me to't,
I will be bold with Time and your Attention:
Then mark th' Inducement; Thus it came; give Heed to't.
My Conſcience firſt receiv'd a Tenderneſs,
Scruple and Prick, on certain Speeches utter'd
By th' Biſhop of *Bayon*, then *French* Ambaſſador,

Who

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" pute you in our Stead, ſo that you may jointly, or " either of you refuſing, or otherwiſe impeded, ſe- " parately execute, and expedite every Thing con- " tained in this Commiſſion, and bring it to a final " Determination, with the ſame Power and Autho- " rity as if done by ourſelves. We alſo grant unto you, " out of out certain Knowledge, by Apoſtolick Au- " thority, and the Tenor of theſe Preſents, likewiſe " Power and Authority to declare, pronounce, and " publiſh the Offspring of the firſt Marriage, if it

 " ſhould

Who had been hither ſent on the debating
A Marriage 'twixt the Duke of *Orleans* and
Our Daughter *Mary:* I'th' Progreſs of this Buſineſs,
Ere a determinate Reſolution, he
(I mean the Biſhop) did require a Reſpite,
Wherein he might the King his Lord advertiſe,
Whether our Daughter were ligitimate;
Reſpecting this our Marriage with the Dowager,
Sometime our Brother's Wife. This Reſpite ſhook
The Boſom of my Conſcience, enter'd me,
Yea, with a ſplitting Power; and made to tremble
The Region of my Breaſt, which forc'd ſuch Way,
That many maz'd Conſiderings did throng,
And preſt it with this Caution. Firſt, methought
I ſtood not in the Smile of Heav'n, which had
Commanded Nature, that my Lady's Womb
(If it conceiv'd a Male-child by me) ſhould
Do no more Offices of Life to't, than
The Grave does to the Dead; for her Male-iſſue,
Or died where they were made, or ſhortly after
This World had air'd them. Hence I took a Thought,
This was a Judgment on me, that my Kingdom
(Well worthy the beſt Heir o'th' World) ſhould not
Be glad in one by me. Then follows, that
I weigh'd the Danger which my Realms ſtood in
By this my Iſſue's Fail, and that gave to me
Many a groaning Throe: thus hurling in
The wild Sea of my Conſcience, I did ſteer
Towards this Remedy, whereon we are
Now preſent here together; that's to ſay,
I meant to rectify my Conſcience, (which
I then did feel full ſick, and yet not well)
By all the rev'rend Fathers of the Land,

And

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" ſhould be found expedient, as well as that which " may be had by a ſecond Marriage, legitimate; " and the Legitimacy of both to be ſupported and " fortified by a perpetual Decree or Sanction, in the " moſt ſtrong and effectual Manner and Form, " that

And Doctors learn'd. Firſt I began in private
With you, my Lord of *Lincoln*; you remember
How under my Oppreſſion I did reel,
When I firſt mov'd you,
*Lin.* Very well, my Liege.
*King.* I have ſpoke long; be pleas'd yourſelf to ſay
How far you ſatisfy'd me,
*Lin.* Pleaſe your Highneſs,
The Queſtion did at firſt ſo ſtagger me,
Bearing a State of mighty Moment in't,
And Conſequence of Dread, that I committed
The daring'ſt Counſel which I had to doubt,
And did intreat your Highneſs to this Courſe,
Which you are running here.
*King.* I then mov'd you,
My Lord of *Canterbury*, and got your Leave
To make this preſent Summons; unſolicited
I left no rev'rend Perſon in this Court;
But, by particular Conſent, proceeded
Under your Hands and Seals. Therefore go on;
For no Diſlike i'th' World againſt the Perſon
Of our good Queen, but the ſharp thorny Points
Of my alledged Reaſons drive this forward.
Prove but our Marriage lawful, by my Life
And kingly Dignity, we are contented
To wear our mortal State to come with her,
(*Katherine*, our Queen) before the primeſt Creature
That's paragon'd i'th' World.
*Cam.* So pleaſe your Highneſs,
The Queen being abſent, 'tis a needful Fitneſs
That we adjourn this Court to further Day;
Mean while muſt be an earneſt Motion
Made to the Queen, to call back her Appeal
She intends to his Holineſs.
*King.* I may perceive
Theſe Cardinals trifle with me: I abhor
This dilatory Sloth, and Tricks of *Rome!*
My learn'd and well-beloved Servant *Cranmer*,
Pr'ythee return; with thy Approach, I know,
My Comfort comes along. Break up the Court:
I ſay, ſet on. [*Exeunt, in Manner as they entred.*

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" that can, according to Law, be conceived or de-
" viſed, againſt all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Pe-
" nalties whatſoever, General Councils, Apoſtolick
" Conſtitutions and Ordinances, and every Thing
" elſe to the contrary notwithſtanding. Given at
" *Viterbo*, in the Year of the *Incarnation* of the Lord
" 1528, on the 6th of the *Ides* of *June*, in the
" 5th Year of our Pontificate."

As ſoon as the Commiſſion was read the Clerks of the Court took the uſual Oaths, and the King and Queen were cited by the Legates to appear on the 18th of *June*, which was the Buſineſs of that Day.

The King's Proxies were Dr. *Sampſon*, Dr. *Petre*, and Dr. *Tregonnell*: The Queen's Counſel were Dr. *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Standiſh*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, and Dr. *Ridley*.

*Second Day.* On the 18th of *June* the Court ſat again, to which he King ſent his Proxies; but the Queen appearing in Perſon, proteſted againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging, "That the "Pope had ordered the Cauſe ſhould be tried at *Rome*;" and deſired Time might be allowed to prove the Allegation; for which Purpoſe the Legates gave her Highneſs three Days, and adjourned the Court.

*Third Day.* On the 21ſt, the King and Queen being ſeated in Chairs againſt each other, *Campeius* opened the Cauſe in a long Speech, and both this Legate and *Wolſey* made ſolemn Declarations of their Impartiality, and that they intended to proceed without Favour or Affection.

The King being called, anſwered, *Here!* The Queen made no Anſwer; but riſing, from her Chair, came up unto the King, and kneeling unto him, made a moving and ſignificant Speech, already cited in Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory foregoing. When ſhe had ended her Speech, ſhe roſe up and made a low Curteſy to the King, and, inſtead of returning to her Seat,

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Seat, went ſtrait out of the Court, every one wondering what the Queen intended; but, before ſhe had gone far, the King commanded the Apparitor to call her back again, who cried out, Catherine, *Queen of* England, *come into the Court!* Whereupon the Gentleman, who led her, told her ſhe was called; to whom ſhe replied, *I hear it very well, but go you on; I cannot have Juſtice in this Court! Let them proceed againſt me in what Manner they will, I am reſolved not to ſtay.* So away ſhe went, and would never after be perſuaded to make her Appearance, either perſonally or by Proctors. When ſhe was gone the King commended her in ſtrong Terms, and acquitted * the Cardinal from being the firſt Mover of it: But, as to what was ſaid, ſee it at large in *Cavendiſh.*

After

* It may be further obſerved, in Vindication of the Cardinal upon this Head, That, being preſſed by the King to give his Judgment in the Caſe of the Divorce, he excuſed himſelf from declaring it, by Reaſon, as he was pleaſed to alledge, the Matter was of too arduous a Nature for him; and therefore deſired Time to conſult the reſt of the Clergy upon it. This Excuſe could neither have been made or admitted, if the Cardinal had at any Time taken the Freedom of delivering his Opinion to the Diſquiet of the King's Conſcience, in the Manner it was pretended he did.

It ſeems unaccountable, that Biſhop *Burnet* ſhould cite *Saunders* to ſhew that the Cardinal was the firſt that infuſed Scruples into the King, relating to his Marriage, and cauſe *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, afterwards to poſſeſs the King's Mind with them in Confeſſion: For, if this learned Hiſtorian had wanted an Authority towards ſupporting the Grounds of this common Suſpicion againſt the Cardinal, we cannot but think the Name of Mr. *Camden* would have made a better Figure in the Margin of his Hiſtory, than that of an Author whom himſelf has treated with ſo much Contempt, and expoſed as a Writer to whom no manner of Credit is to be given.

But whatever Occaſion the Biſhop might have for this Teſtimony, to do his Lordſhip Juſtice, he profeſſes himſelf, in the Sequel of this Story, inclined to think, that the Scruples of the King were much antienter; and, in a few Pages after, he acquits the Cardinal of this Reproach; however we ſhall not inquire into what Motives induced him to be willing, that his Readers ſhould credit a Story in his laſt Volume, which his Lordſhip in his firſt Volume has ſo well and effectually confuted.

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After the Speeches were ended the Court adjourned to the 25th of *June*, at the ſame time ordering Letters monitory to be iſſued for citing the Queen to appear. In that Interval the two Cardinals waited upon the Queen, at his Majeſty's Deſire, to endeavour to prevail with her to comply with the King's Requeſt, and ſubmit to the Court; but it was to no Purpoſe. See Mr. *Cavendiſh* again; and beneath *Shakeſpear.* *

On

* *Enter the Cardinals,* Wolſey *and* Campeius.

*Wol.* Peace to your Highneſs.

*Queen.* Your Graces find me here part of a Houſe-wife, (I would be all) againſt the worſt may happen:
What are your Pleaſures with me, rev'rend Lords?

*Wol.* May't pleaſe you, noble Madam, to withdraw
Into your private Chamber; we ſhall give you
The full Cauſe of our Coming.

*Queen.* Speak it here.
There's nothing I have done yet, o' my Conſcience,
Deſerves a Corner: Would all other Women
Could ſpeak this with as free a Soul as I do!
My Lords, I care not (ſo much I am happy
Above a Number) if my Actions
Were try'd by ev'ry Tongue, ev'ry Eye ſaw 'em,
Envy and baſe Opinion ſet againſt 'em,
I know my Life ſo even. If your Buſineſs
Do ſeek me out, and that way I am Wiſe in,
Out with it boldly! Truth loves open Dealing.

Wol. *Tanta eſt erga te mentis integritas, Regina Sereniſſima.*

*Queen.* Good my Lord, no *Latin*;
I am not ſuch Truant ſince my Coming,
As not to know the Language I have liv'd in.
A ſtrange Tongue makes my Cauſe more ſtrange, ſuſpicious:
Pray ſpeak in *Engliſh*; here are ſome will thank you,
If you ſpeak Truth, for their poor Miſtreſs's Sake.
Believe me, ſhe has had much Wrong. Lord Cardinal,
The willing'ſt Sin I ever yet committed
May be abſolv'd in *Engliſh*.

*Wol.* Noble Lady!
I'm ſorry my Integrity ſhould breed
(And Service to his Majeſty and you)
So deep Suſpicion, where all Faith was meant.
We come not, by the Way of Accuſation,

To

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*Fourth Day.* On the 25th the Court met, pursuant to the Adjournment, and the proper Officer returned to the Court, that the Queen had been duly summoned; but, as she did not appear, she was ordered to be summoned a second Time, and then the Court adjourned to the 28th.

*Fifth Day.* On the 28th. the Court met, and the Citation being read, and Proof being made of the Queen's being duly summoned, she was pronounced *Contumax*. However, though the Queen refused to appear, the Court proceeded to examine Witnesses, and made a Shew, at least, of coming to a Determination, the Lawyers being permitted to plead on each Side. The Advocates for the King opened the Charge by setting forth, "It was not in the Pope's "Power to ratify the Marriage, and make that law-"ful which the *Law of GOD* and Nature had pro-"nounced unlawful: That *Catherine* had been law-"fully married to Prince *Arthur*, the King's elder "Brother, and the Nuptials publickly solemnized no "Man could deny, and many Circumstances did ma-"nifest the Consummating of the Marriage by carnal "Conjunction; and indeed considering the Age of "Prince *Arthur* and of Queen *Catherine* at the Time; the

To taint that Honour every good Tongue blesses;
Nor to betray you any way to Sorrow;
(You have too much, good Lady!) but to know
How you stand minded in the weighty Differences
Between the King and you? And to deliver,
Like free and honest Men, our just Opinions
And Comforts to your Cause.

*Cam.* Most honour'd Madam,
My Lord of *York*, out of his noble Nature,
Zeal and Obedience he still bore your Grace,
Forgetting, like a good Man, your late Censure
Both of his Truth and him, (which was too far)
Offers, as I do, in a Sign of Peace,
His Service and his Counsel.

*Queen.* To betray me!
My Lords, I thank you both for your Good-will;

Ye

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" the Prince being 15 and the Princeſs ſomething " more, and that they bedded together for near five " Months, it ſeemed very ſtrange, that the Queen " ſhould call God to witneſs, as ſhe did, *That, when* " *ſhe came to King* Henry's *Bed, ſhe was an unſpotted* " *Virgin.*"

The Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, who was preſent at the Marriage, declared, " The Age of Prince *Arthur*, at " the Time of his ſaid Marriage, to be about 15, and " that ſhe ſaw Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Catherine* " alone in Bed together, the next Night after their " Marriage."

*George*, Earl of *Shrewſbury*, depoſed, " The Mar- " riage was celebrated at *St. Paul's*, *decimo Septimo* " *Henrici 7mi*, 1501; that Prince *Arthur* was born " at *Wincheſter*, *2do Henrici 7mi*; and that he be- " lieved the Prince knew his Lady carnally, becauſe " he might be able ſo to do, as himſelf had been, who " knew his Wife before he was ſixteen."

Sir *William Thomas* depoſed, " That Prince *Arthur* " and the Lady *Catherine* lived five Months, partly " about *London* and partly at *Ludlow*, in a Houſe " together as Man and Wife; and that he heard Sir " *William Woodall*, who was at the Prince's *Chriſtening*, " ſay,

Ye ſpeak like honeſt Men; pray God ye prove ſo.
But how to make ye ſuddenly an Anſwer,
In ſuch a Point of Weight, ſo near mine Honour,
(More near my Life, I fear) with my weak Wit,
And to ſuch Men of Gravity and Learning,
In Truth I know not. I was ſet at work
Among my Maids; full little, God knows, looking
Either for ſuch Men, or ſuch Buſineſs.
For her Sake that I have been, (for I feel
The laſt fit of my Greatneſs) good your Graces,
Let me have Time and Counſel for my Cauſe:
Alas! I am a Woman, friendleſs and hopeleſs!

*Wolſ.* Madam, you wrong the King's Love with thoſe Fears;
Your Hopes and Friends are infinite.

*Quern.* In *England*
But little for my Profit: Can you think, Lords,



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" ſay, *That he was above* 15 *at the Time of his Mar-*
" *riage, and the Lady* Catherine *older.*"

*Thomas*, Marquis of *Dorſet*, depoſed, " He ſaw a " Regiſter of the Nativity of the King's Children, " by which he found Prince *Arthur* was born the 20th " of *September*, 1486, and at the Time of his Mar- " riage, which was upon a *Sunday*, *decimo ſeptimo* " *Henrici 7mi*, he was of a good and genuine Com- " plexion, and able, as he believed, for the Purpoſe " of Generation."

*Robert*, Viſcount *Fitz-Walters*, depoſed, " The " Prince was then about 15 and Queen *Catherine* old- " er; and that he very well remembered, that the next " Day after the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales* had been " in Bed together, he ſaw them ſolemnly bleſſed, and " waited at Breakfaſt on Prince *Arthur*, when *Maurice* " *St. John* did carve, and he, the Lord *Fitz-Walters*, " gave Drink; at which Time *Maurice St. John* de- " manding of the Prince what he had done that Night " to make him ſo dry? the Prince anſwered, *I have* " *been in* Spain *this Night.*"

*Charles*, Duke of *Suffolk*, depoſed, " That he was " in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace the Morrow next " following the Day of *Marriage*, and waited there " upon the Prince at Breakfaſt," who, having in Effect

That any *Engliſhman* dare give me Counſel?
Or be a known Friend 'gainſt his Highneſs's Pleaſure,
Though he be grown ſo deſp'rate to be honeſt,
And live a Subject? Nay, forſooth, my Friends,
They that muſt weigh out my Afflictions,
They that my Truſt muſt grow to, live not here;
They are, as all my Comforts are, far hence,
In my own Country, Lords.

*Cam.* I would your Grace
Would leave your Griefs, and take my Counſel.

*Queen.* How, Sir?

*Cam.* Put your main Cauſe into the King's Protection,
He's loving and moſt gracious. 'Twill be much
Better both for your Honour, and your Cauſe:
For, if the Trial of the Law o'er-take ye, *Wolſ.*
You'll part away diſgrac'd.

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Effect confirmed *Maurice St. John*'s Depoſition, added, " That the *Shrove-tide* following the Mar-
" riage, which was in *November* preceding, the
" ſaid Prince began to decay, and grow feeble
" in Body, which increaſed, as *St. John* believed,
" by reaſon the Prince lay with the Lady *Ca-*
" *therine.*"

*Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, depoſed, " That he, being on the Day of
" Marriage in the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace, and the
" Morrow after at the Prince's Breakfaſt, heard the
" Prince's Anſwer to *Maurice St. John*, when he
" ſaid, *He had been that Night in the midſt of* Spain;
" by which Words, becauſe Prince *Arthur* was of
" Age, and good Complexion and Nature, and
" above 15, he believes he carnally knew his La-
" dy; becauſe himſelf at the ſame Age did know
" and carnally uſe a Woman; and that he believes
" this the rather, becauſe he heard, from credible
" Perſons, that the ſaid Prince *Arthur* did lay with
" the ſaid Lady *Catherine* five or ſix Nights after."

Sir *Anthony Willoughby*, Knt. depoſed, " That,
" being the Morrow after the Marriage in the Prince's
" Privy-chamber, the ſaid Prince ſpoke before divers

 " Wit-

*Wolſ.* He tells you rightly.
*Queen.* Ye tell me, what ye wiſh for both, my Ruin:
Is this your *Chriſtian* Counſel? Out upon ye!
Heav'n is above all yet! There ſits a Judge
That no King can corrupt.
*Cam.* Your Grace miſtakes us.
*Queen.* The more Shame for ye; holy Men I thought ye,
Upon my Soul, two rev'rend Cardinal Virtues;
But Cardinal Sins, and hollow Hearts, I fear ye!
Mend 'em, for Shame! my Lords: Is this your Comfort,
The Cordial that you bring a wretched Lady;
A Woman loſt among ye, laugh'd at, ſcorn'd?
I will not wiſh you half my Miſeries,
I have more Charity. But ſay, I warn'd ye;
Take Heed, take Heed, for Heav'n's Sake! leſt at once
The Burthen of my Sorrows fall upon ye.

*Wolſ.*

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" Witneſſes theſe Words, Willoughby, *give me a Cup* " *of Ale, for I have been this Night in the midſt of* " Spain: After which he ſaid, *It is good Paſtime* " *to have a Wife*; which Words he repeated divers " other Times; and he heard ſay, they lay at *Lud-* " *low* together the *Shrove-tide* next following."

From theſe Depoſitions and other Circumſtances, the Counſel on the King's Part ſtrenuouſly urged the Invalidity of the ſaid Marriage from the beginning, by reaſon of the carnal Copulation committed between Prince *Arthur*, the King's Brother, and the preſent Queen: But it was again as vehemently denied by the Queen's Counſel.

The King's Counſel further offered the following Depoſitions in Support of the Conteſt, which were read.

*William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, depoſed, " That he never liked the Marriage; and " that he told *Henry* the VIIth as much."

Sir *Anthony Poynes*, as to the Age only.

*Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, *William* Lord *Montjoy*, and *Henry Guilford*, Knights of the Garter, ſaid little to any Purpoſe, but what they had heard by Fame.

*David Owen*, as to the Age only.

*Ni-*

*Wolſ.* Madam, this is a meer Diſtraction,
You turn the Good we offer into Envy.
*Queen.* You turn me into Nothing. Woe upon ye!
And all ſuch falſe Profeſſors! Would you have me
(If you have any Juſtice, any Pity,
If ye be any Thing, but Churchmen's Habits)
Put my ſick Cauſe into his Hands that hates me?
Alas, h'as baniſh'd me his Bed already,
His Love too, long ago. I'm old, my Lords,
And all the Fellowſhip I hold now with him
Is only by Obedience. What can happen
To me above this Wretchedneſs? All your Studies
Make me a Curſe like this.
*Cam.* Your Fears are worſe——
*Queen.* Have I liv'd thus long (let me ſpeak myſelf,
Since Virtue finds no Friends) a Wife, a true one,

A Wo-

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*Nicholas*, Bishop of *Ely*, deposed, "That he could "say nothing of the *Carnalis copula*; but that he very "much doubted it, in regard the Queen often (*sub "Testimonio Conscientiæ suæ*) said to this Deponent, "*That she was never carnally known by Prince* Arthur."

After the reading these Depositions the Bishop of *Rochester*, one of the Queen's Counsel, stood up, and spoke in this Manner, "And all this is no "more, than what hath formerly been deposed, exa- "mined, thoroughly debated, and scanned by the "best and most learned Divines and Lawyers that "could be got, which Time I do well remember; "and I am not ignorant of the Manner of their "Proceedings, when and where all the Allegations, "in respect of what was then produced to the con- "trary, was adjudged vain and frivolous, whereupon "the Marriage was concluded, which was afterwards "approved and ratified by the See Apostolick; and "that in such ample Manner, as I think it a very hard "Matter now again to call the same in question be- "fore other Judges."

Then stood up Dr. *Ridley*, another of the Queen's Counsel, a little Man, but of great Spirit, and pro- found Learning, and said, "My Lords, the Car- "dinals, we have heard how the Queen herself here "in

A Woman (I dare say without Vain-glory)
Never yet branded with Suspicion?
Have I, with all my full Affections
Still met the King; lov'd him next Heaven, obey'd him,
Been, out of Fondness, superstitious to him,
Almost forgot my Prayers to content him;
And am I thus rewarded? 'Tis not well, Lords.
Bring me a constant Woman to her Husband,
One that never dreamt a Joy beyond his Pleasure;
And to that Woman, when she has done most,
Yet will I add an Honour, a great Patience.

*Wolf.* Madam, you wander from the Good we aim at.

*Queen.* My Lord, I dare not make myself so guilty,
To give up willingly that noble Title,
Your Master wed me to: Nothing but Death
Shall e'er divorce my Dignities. *Wolf.*

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" in the Face of the whole Court, and in the Pre-
" ſence and Hearing of the King himſelf, called the
" great God of Heaven and Earth to witneſs, *That*
" *ſhe was a pure Virgin when ſhe came into the*
" *King's Bed*; and now ſhe put it unto his Conſcience,
" ſpeaking unto him Face to Face; and, if it were
" otherwiſe, we cannot imagine the Queen durſt
" ſo appeal unto him, or the King ſo ſpoke unto,
" if unworthily, would not have contradicted her:
" Beſides, we have here the Teſtimony of a moſt
" Reverend Father, who hath depoſed upon Oath,
" how the Queen had often, *ſub Teſtimonio Conſcientiæ*
" *ſuæ*, ſaid unto him, *That ſhe never had any carnal*
" *Knowledge of Prince* Arthur. Now, my Lords, that
" ſuch a Frolick or Jeſt, as that about a *Cup of Ale*
" or the *Midſt of Spain*, with all the reſt that hath
" been ſaid, that are but mere Conjectures and Preſump-
" tions, ſhould ſtand in Competition with ſo great
" a Teſti-

*Wolſ.* Pray hear me ——————

*Queen.* Would I had never trod this *Engliſh* Earth,
Or felt the Flatteries that grow upon it!
Ye've Angels Faces, but Heav'n knows your Hearts.
What ſhall become of me now! wretched Lady!
I am the moſt unhappy Woman living!
Alas, poor Wenches! where are now your Fortunes? [*To the Wom.*
Ship-wreck'd upon a Kingdom, where no Pity,
No Friends, no Hope! no Kindred weep for me!
Almoſt no Grave allowed me! Like the Lilly,
That once was Miſtreſs of the Field and flouriſh'd,
I'll hang my Head, and Periſh!

*Wolſ.* If your Grace
Could but be brought to know our Ends are honeſt,
You'd feel more Comfort. Why ſhould we, good Lady,
Upon what Cauſe, wrong you? Alas! our Places,
The Way of our Profeſſion is againſt it:
We are to cure ſuch Sorrows, not to ſow 'em.
For Goodneſs Sake, conſider what you do,
How you may hurt yourſelf, nay, utterly
Grow from the King's Acquaintance, by this Carriage.
The Hearts of Princes kiſs Obedience,
So much they love it: But, to ſtubborn Spirits,
They ſwell and grow as terrible as Storms.

I know

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" a Teſtimony as a ſovereign Princeſs's ſolemn At-
" teſtation of her Cauſe upon the King's Conſcience,
" and that Conſcience clearing her from ſuch Pre-
" ſumption by its own Silence, ſhould cauſe us to
" lay aſide all Reverence, which we owe to former
" Power and Authority, as if all their Determina-
" tions, Conſultations, and Confirmations, and even
" of the See Apoſtolick itſelf, ſhould become void by
" your calling this Matter again into Queſtion, is a
" Thing, in my Conceit, moſt deteſtable to be re-
" hearſed, and a great Shame to this honourable
" Court to hear ſuch Stuff repeated for no other
" Purpoſe, but in Contempt of former Power, and
" calling the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors and Prede-
" ceſſors, together with our own, in Queſtion and De-
" riſion." Then the Court adjourned.

Now we leave the Reader to judge, whether he will

I know you have a gentle, noble Temper,
A Soul as even as a Calm; Pray think us,
Thoſe we profeſs, Peace-makers, Friends, and Servants.
*Cam.* Madam, you'll find it ſo: You wrong your Virtues
With theſe weak Women's Fears. A noble Spirit,
As yours was put into you, ever caſts
Such Doubts, as falſe Coin, from it. The King loves you;
Beware you loſe it not: For us (if you pleaſe
To truſt us in your Buſineſs) we are ready
To uſe our utmoſt Studies in your Service.
*Queen.* Do what you will, my Lords; and pray forgive me,
If I have us'd myſelf unmannerly.
You know I am a Woman lacking Wit,
To make a ſeemly Anſwer to ſuch Perſons.
Pray do my Service to his Majeſty.
He has my Heart yet; and ſhall have my Prayers,
While I ſhall have my Life. Come, rev'rend Fathers,
Beſtow your Counſels on me. She now begs,
That little thought, when ſhe ſet Footing here,
She ſhould have bought her Dignities ſo dear. [*Exeunt.*

If we may be allowed to form a Judgment of the Cardinal's Temper from his Speeches to the King, to the Queen, to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and on many other Occaſions, we cannot help being of Opinion, that he did not want Spirit to vindicate the Honour of his Character, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe.

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will believe the Depoſitions, or Queen *Catherine*'s Proteſtation.

In the mean time the Queen continued to ſend to the Lady *Margaret*, Regent of the *Low Countries*, a Detail of the Proceedings of the Legatine Court, which ſhe tranſmitted to the Emperor *Charles*; and his Brother *Ferdinand*, with Intreaties to aſſiſt their Aunt. Theſe Princes thereupon ſent freſh Inſtructions to their Ambaſſadors at his Holineſs's Court, to take a particular Care of the Queen's Intereſt, and they had likewiſe a Commiſſion to give his Holineſs a Copy of the Bull, and Brief, of *Julius* the IId, together with the Queen's Declaration, That the Marriage between Prince *Arthur* and herſelf was not conſummated. Though ſome conceived, that, had not the Queen appealed to *Rome*, the Marriage had been confirmed this Seſſion, as it was afterwards by the Pope himſelf, when too late.

The King, being now fully ſatisfied that the Emperor and his Brother were endeavouring to carry the Proceſs to *Rome*, ſent freſh Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors, to prevent the Avocation of the Cauſe, and to remind the Pope, that, by conſenting to ſuch an Expedient, his Holineſs would put a great Diſgrace upon his Legates, contradict his late Bull and Commiſſion, break through his own Order, and diſoblige the King and Kingdom in a very notorious Manner: But all this Remonſtrance ſignified nothing, the Poſture of Affairs in *Italy* was changed, and the Pope fallen into new Meaſures, by his entering into an advantageous Treaty with the Emperor, which we have before mentioned. In fine, the Ambaſſadors of the Houſe of *Auſtria* made a Proteſtation, in the Queen's Name, againſt the Proceedings of the Legates in *England*, every Page of which Inſtrument was ſubſcribed by the Queen's Hand, and the Purport of it was, to entreat the Pope to null the Proceedings in *England*, to admoniſh the King to ſtop the Proceſs, or conſent that the Trial of the Cauſe might be at *Rome*, which was received with the utmoſt Reſpect.

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So that his Holineſs, forgetting the many Favours he had received from *Henry*, as well as his own great Acknowledgments and Promiſes, ventures the breaking with the King, rather than loſe the Advantage propoſed by his new Alliance with the Emperor, ſigned an *Avocation* of the Cauſe, and forbid all further Proceedings in *England* under great Penalties.

Our Ambaſſadors upon this extraordinary News let his Holineſs know, that, as the King's Requeſt had been denied, their Maſter would apply other Remedies, which did not a little ſtartle him; and therefore, as he knew it would poſſibly be attended with ill Conſequences in reſpect to his ſpiritual Affairs, he endeavoured to ſhew, by an extenuating Letter to the Cardinal, that he was dragged into this Expedient, in which he tells him, "How "much he was affected at the Neceſſity "of the Juncture: That nothing was more averſe to "his Inclination, than the *Avocation* of the Cauſe: "That he was ſo ſenſible of the King's Merit and "kind Offices, that nothing but mere Juſtice could "have forced him to have done any thing againſt his "Highneſs's Inclination:" And deſires the Cardinal to repreſent his Regret to the King, to put the beſt Complexion upon the Matter he could, to uſe his Intereſt to continue him in his cuſtomary Friendſhip and Eſteem to the Apoſtolick See, and to acquaint his Highneſs, that he had the ſame Regard for him as formerly.

*The Pope's Letter to Wolſey.*

Before the *Avocation* was ſigned at *Rome*, the Pope inſtructed *Campeius*, unknown to *Wolſey*, to draw out the Matter at Length, and the Cardinal managed the Buſineſs with Dexterity enough.

The King, being perfectly acquainted with the Pope's Deſigns, and hopeleſs of the Queen's Conſent, haſtened the Commiſſioners to forward the Divorce, which *Campeius* accordingly did with that Diſpatch, that only the definitive

*The* Legatine *Court ſits for the laſt Time.*



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Sentence was now wanting, for giving which a ſolemn Day was appointed, *Sept.* 28, which cauſed many of the Nobility, and a Multitude of the Commonalty to repair to the Court, expecting that Judgment would have been given for the King; and he himſelf, conceiving ſome Hopes of the Legates good Intent towards him, cauſed a Seat to be placed for him behind the Hangings, where, without being ſeen, he might conveniently hear what paſſed in Court. The Cardinal being ſeated, the King's Advocates earneſtly required, that Sentence might be given on their Side. Upon which *Campeius*, ſtanding up as well as he could for the Gout, informed them, that his Holineſs had reſerved the further Hearing of the Cauſe to himſelf, and therefore declared their Commiſſion to be diſſolved: But before this he made the Speech that *Cavendiſh* has already recited, as well as what paſſed on the Duke of *Suffolk*'s inſulting Cardinal *Wolſey*. A bad Retaliation this, for doing him two ſuch ſignal Services, the ſaving of his Life, and bringing about his grand Marriage. See Vol. IId, p. 257, *&c.*

In Conſequence of what *Campeius* had declared at the Cloſe of the *Legatine* Court, Pope *Clement* the VIIth iſſued forth a Brief of *Avocation* of the Cauſe from *England* to the *Conſiſtorial* Court at *Rome*, where *Paulus Capiſſanus*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, was to preſide under his Holineſs: And it having been ſignified, by the Queen's Party, that the King of *England* would not anſwer to any ſuch Appeal, the Brief takes notice of this Rumour, and threatens the King with Excommunication, if he ſhould preſume to proceed to another Marriage, before the Cauſe was decided in the *Conſiſtorial* Court. This Brief by particular Directions was fixed upon the great Church-doors at *Bruges*, *Tournay*, and *Dunkirk*, inaſmuch as no one durſt take the Liberty of fixing it up any where in *England*.

The Cauſe being ordered to *Rome*, and the King's Expectation baulked, he threw his Diſappointment upon

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upon Cardinal *Wolsey*; (though, from the Account of the whole Matter, it appears the Cardinal was very sincere in the King's Business, and prosecuted the Divorce with all the Heartiness and Application imaginable:) Yet his Inclination was so strongly fixed upon Mrs. *Bulleyn*, that he could not help resenting the Pope's Collusion to the highest Degree, though his Wrath-like Thunder fell first on Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was nearest his Elbow, and might now well cry out with the Comedian,

JOVE, *and ye Gods! how hard a Thing*
*It is to serve a raging King?*

*Both Parties at a stand.*

This great Controversy being at a Stand in *England* the disappointed Party gazed about, unapprehensive of the Issue, nor could any one guess, whether or no his Majesty designed to answer the Appeal. However, by sending Sir *Edward Horne* and Dr. *Bonner* to *Rome*, he made a Shew as if he would; though they did not carry themselves, as some Historians say, as if they had any Instructions from their Master to tender an express Submission to the *Consistorial* Court, where the King had been cited to make his Appearance; but his Agents objected against doing it in Person, which the Pope agreed to wave, provided he would send his Proctors. New Difficulties being started every Day concerning the Manner of the Trial, and the Court of *Rome* not being willing that others should prescribe Rules to them, little or no Progress was made in the Affair; but, on the contrary, both Parties were securing their Outworks, and studying how to defend themselves in Case of an Attack: And as the Pope by his Brief had forbidden the King to take another Woman for his Wife without License from the Holy See, so the King published an Order, that no Decree coming



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from *Rome* ſhould be received in *England*. This looked like declaring War, or at leaſt it was a manifeſt Token of a violent Exaſperation, which diſcovered itſelf by the Treatment Queen *Catherine* met with immediately after, when ſhe was ordered to withdraw to ſome of the King's Manor-houſes, that her Preſence might not influence the People and cauſe a Diſturbance. "And to countenance the putting her "under Reſtraint, as *Echard* ſays, a formal Complaint "was made againſt her, that ſhe favoured ſome who "deſigned to deſtroy the King and the Cardinal: "That ſhe had carried herſelf very diſobligingly to "the King, and uſed many indirect Arts to render "herſelf popular: That the King was in Danger of "his Life by her Means, and therefore he could no "longer keep her Company, either as to Bed or "Table. But ſhe was a Woman of ſuch Reſolu-"tion and Conſtancy, that no Threatnings could in-"timidate her."

As the Court was broke up, the King next was adviſed, as many Authors affirm, to ſend Abroad, in order to obtain the Subſcriptions of ſuch learned Men he could draw in to favour his Cauſe. However that was not immediately put in Execution; for the King's Mind, upon the Breaking up of the Court was ſo full of troubleſome Thoughts, that it made him uncertain which Way to determine. In this Dilemna, *Hall*, *Stow*, *Rapin*, and *Burnet* affirm, he reſolved upon a Progreſs into the Country, hoping thereby to diſpel his Melancholy.

*The King ſets out on a Progreſs.*

For that End he ſet out attended by his royal Retinue, and took up his Lodgings the firſt Night at *Waltham*, and, as one Houſe was not ſufficient to entertain his whole Court, there were ſeveral of them quartered at the neighbouring Gentlemen's Houſes, particularly Mr. Secretary *Gardiner* and Dr. *Fox* at one Mr. *Creſſy*'s:

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*Creſſy's*: At Supper the Converſation run upon the Divorce, and, the Maſter of the Houſe having highly commended *Cranmer*, * (who at this Time had committed to his Care, the Tuition of two of Mr. *Creſſy's* Sons) to *Fox* and *Gardiner*, for a Man of Learning, they deſired him to give his Opinion on that Subject, which he at firſt modeſtly declined; but they preſſed him ſo much that he could not excuſe himſelf: Therefore, after they had ſtated the Queſtion, *Cranmer* ſaid, "He ſaw no better Way to extricate the King out "of his Difficulties, than to procure in Writing the "Opinions of all the Univerſities in *Europe*, and of "the moſt eminent Divines and Civilians; that then "the Learned would judge *Julius* the IId's Diſpenſa-"tion either *ſufficient* or *invalid*; if the *firſt*, the King's "Conſcience would have Reaſon to be eaſy; if the "*ſecond*, the Pope would never venture to paſs Sen-"tence contrary to the Opinion of all the learned "and able Men in *Chriſtendom*."

*Fox* and *Gardiner* reliſhed this Advice, and imparted it to the King, who, immediately taking the Author's Meaning, cried out in a Tranſport of Joy, *That he had got the right Sow by the Ear*; an Expreſſion

* *Thomas Cranmer* was born at *Arſlochton* in *Nottinghamſhire*, immediately derived from that antient Family, of *Cranmer-hall* in *Lincolnſhire*. He was bred at *Jeſus* College, where he was Fellow, and highly eſteemed for his Learning and other excellent Qualifications, inſomuch, that Cardinal *Wolſey*, hearing of his Fame, was as deſirous to tranſplant him for an Ornament to *Oxford*, as Biſhop *Fiſher* was to detain him in *Cambridge*, becauſe he was eminent for the Arts, more eſpecially for Divinity, and moſt of all for his Sobriety, Temperance, Meekneſs, Diſcretion, Moderation, and a grave Reſolution, equally above the Frowns or Smiles of Fortune; but he, eſpouſing a Wife, quitted his Fellowſhip, left the College, and retired to *Buckingham-houſe*, where he at once prepared himſelf and others for publick Employments, and accordingly was recommended to King *Henry* the VIIIth, as appears above: Thus much for his Original.—It is ſaid, Dr. *Cranmer*, an eminent Phyſician at *Kingſton* in *Surry*, and Mr. *Cranmer*, a Banker in *Fleet-ſtreet*, *London*, are deſcended from a Branch of this noble and antient Family.

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preſſion which ſhewed more the King's Extacy than his Gentility: But as *Cranmer* well explained what he had but juſt hinted at Table, it ſo gained the King's Eſteem, that from that Moment he was ordered to follow the Court.

As *Wolſey* did not ſet out with the Court, there are ſeveral Letters in the *Exchequer Record-office*, from *Gardiner* to *Wolſey*, couched in the moſt reſpectful Terms, giving him an Account of his Majeſty's Progreſs, and particularly *Gardiner* tells *Wolſey*, in one of them dated from *Waltham*, that the King was very merry, which we preſume was owing to the Advice that was given him by *Cranmer*.

*Commiſſioners ſent to foreign Univerſities.*

After Matters were ſettled in reſpect to the Steps that were neceſſary to be taken upon *Cranmer*'s Advice, Commiſſioners were immediately diſpatched to ſeveral foreign Univerſities, with the State of the King's Caſe, who ſo well executed the Truſt repoſed in them, that they procured in Writing the Opinion of ſeveral of thoſe Univerſities, beſides that of many great Lawyers, *That the King's Marriage was unlawful*, which different Certificates are to be met with at large in *Rymer*'s *Fœdera*, *Burnet*, *Speed*, and other Authors.

*Sleaden* upon this Occaſion remarks, "That the "foreign Univerſities, and particularly that of *Paris*, "were bribed for the King."

In the Year 1532, there was a Book publiſhed at *Lunenberg*, intitled, *A Confutation of the Cenſures of the Univerſity*, printed with the King's Licenſe in *England*. This Book, now in the *Bodleian* Library, informs us, that the Univerſity of *Paris* was equally divided, as many being againſt as for the Divorce; and that ſome Members of that Body publiſhed Diſcourſes againſt the other Party, who gave their Opinion for the King: This

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This Author wrote on the Queen's Side, and dedicated his Book to the then Emperor's Ambaſſador in *England.*

What paſſed at Home, previous to the two Univerſities giving their Opinion relating to the Divorce, Dr. *Fiddes* relates, and fully ſhews, that it was with great Difficulty the Court obtained their favourable Sentiments.

*The Reſolution of our own,* &c.

Biſhop *Burnet,* in his Account relating to the Determination of our two Univerſities concerning the King's Marriage, taxes Mr. *Wood* with being too credulous, and that he drew his Information from *Saunders,* an exaſperated Writer of the Church of *Rome:* But Mr. *Collier* undertakes to juſtify Mr. *Wood*'s Account from Lord *Herbert*'s Records, which plainly make it appear, that the King threatned the Univerſity, and that their Statutes were violated by excluding many who had a Right to vote; for the Hiſtorians agree, "That the "King ſent Dr. *Longland,* his Confeſſor, to procure "their Certificate in Favour of his Divorce from *Cathe-*"*rine:* That in the Doctor's Inſtructions the King "joined Entreaties and Threats, to bring the Univer-"ſity to declare in his Favour; but their Chancellor, "*Warham,* adviſes them to follow the Truth: That one "Part of the Univerſity was for complying with the "King's Deſire, whilſt the other (the Artiſts, or Re-"gent Maſters) were of the contrary Opinion: That, "notwithſtanding all the King's Threats, he could not "obtain what he ſo earneſtly deſired, until the latter "were excluded, although by the Statutes nothing "could be done without them." The Subſtance of all which is confirmed by the King's Letter to the Regents or Artiſts, wherein he ſays, "That pro-"vided they held on in their Obſtinacy, and gave "their Sovereign any farther Trouble, they ſhould "quickly be made ſenſible of the ill Conſequence, "and underſtand it was not their beſt Way to pro-

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" voke a *Hornet's* * *Neſt.*"--- And as they refuſed to comply with his Requeſt, the King did not forget to make them ſenſible of his Reſentment.

When the Point came to be debated in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, ſome Art was made uſe of before the King could obtain a Subſcription. When *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were ſent thither purpoſely to manage the Members, found Matters could not be carried to their Liking in a full Congregation, with great Difficulty brought the Thing within the Compaſs of a ſmall Committee of twenty-nine Perſons, *viz.* Dr. *Edmonds*, the Vice-chancellor, ten Doctors, ſixteen Batchellors, and the two Proctors. Many of the Univerſity foreſaw the Danger of this Method, and therefore they moved the Queſtion, " Whether " or no it ſhould be followed?" *Collier* ſays, "That, " the *ſecond* Time the Queſtion was put, the Votes " were equal; the *third* Time, by prevailing with " ſome of the contrary Opinion to quit the Houſe, " the Order of the Committee paſſed." *Gardiner* and *Fox* having gained this Point, gave the King an Account, and ſent up the Names of the Committee, acquainting the King with the good Condition of the Affair, and that they hoped in a ſhort Time to procure a Majority, which happened accordingly. And thus with a good deal of Management the King gained his Point, and the Marriage was declared *unlawful.*

*The Cardinal begins viſibly to decline in the King's Favour.*

As the Court for trying the King's Cauſe was diſſolved, the Cardinal begun ſenſibly to decline in the King's Favour, though he had done every thing that could in Reaſon be expected from him, except betraying the Truſt repoſed in him by the See of *Rome*; in the Diſcharge of which he made no inconſiderable Figure; yet gave place to his Collegue in

* His Majeſty, we think, has not given himſelf an improper Name here; for he was a *Stinger* ſure enough.

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in every thing, and ſuffered him to act as he pleaſed: From whence we may infer, notwithſtanding his Enemies Inſinuations to the contrary, that he was determined to act with the utmoſt Impartiality, whatever the Event might be, valuing his Honour and Reputation more than any worldly Advantages. Yet Biſhop *Burnet* would have it, "That the King received Information of *Wolſey*'s having juggled with "him in the Buſineſs of the *Divorce*, and had ſecretly adviſed the Pope to what he had done:" For which he produces no Authority. Whereas there is nothing appears more manifeſt, than that he always acted without Diſſimulation; it being a remarkable Part of his Character, that *he was above promiſing*, where *he did not intend to perform*; and the chief Reaſon of *Anna Bulleyn*'s firſt Prejudice againſt him, as before obſerved, was, becauſe ſhe could not prevail on him to *promiſe* to be in her Intereſt reſpecting her Exaltation to the Throne; and therefore ſhe took all the Ways poſſible to ruin him. For, *Rapin* ſays, "*Anna Bulleyn* was perſuaded, if *Wolſey* "had pleaſed, the Affair of the Divorce would have "taken another Turn; but that he had altered "his Reſolution: Whether her Opinion was well "grounded, or the Vexation to ſee herſelf ſtill remote from her Hopes, was the Occaſion of exaſperating her againſt *Wolſey*, does not fully appear: Other than true it is ſhe looked upon him "as an Enemy, that deſerved her whole Vengeance; "and, finding the King to give Ear to whatſoever "was ſaid againſt his Miniſter, ſhe neglected nothing "that could help to ruin him: And in this ſhe "was aſſiſted by ſeveral Perſons of the higheſt "Rank."

If this was the Caſe in reſpect to the King's *favourite Lady*, why ſhould we wonder at his Majeſty's Conduct? whoſe Uneaſineſs muſt needs be much



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heightened, on seeing himself thus disappointed by Queen *Catharine*'s continuing obstinate, and refusing to accept of any Expedient, that might debar her from being his Wife, and facilitate his flying into his beloved *Anna*'s Arms: — For though, even after *Campeius*'s Arrival in *England*, the King and Queen eat at one Table and lodged in one Bed, there being no visible Sign of any Breach between them; yet, after the *Legantine* Court was opened, they parted, and *Anna Bulleyn* was upon that Occasion removed some time from Court; but no sooner was an End put to the *Legatine* Commission, than *Anna Bulleyn* was recalled, and thereupon much more waited on than the Queen, at which several Persons expressed great Uneasiness, and among others *Wolsey* was one of the first.

Anna Bulleyn *greatly in Favour.*

Upon the great Favour shewn to *Anna Bulleyn* by the King, and her being introduced to Court in so pompous a Manner, a fine Representation has been given us in a Print, wherein *Henry* appears leading *Anna Bulleyn* by the Hand; Queen *Catherine*, sitting in a mournful Posture; Lord *Piercy*, Mrs. *Anna*'s first Lover, standing by the Queen's Chair; and *Wolsey*, leaning on his Throne of State, in a thoughtful Mood: Under which are the following Lines,

*Here struts old* pious HARRY, *once the Great*
Reformer *of the* English *Church and State:*
*'Twas thus he stood, when* ANNA BULLEYN's *Charms*
*Allur'd the amorous Monarch to her Arms:*
*With his Right-hand he leads her as his own,*
*To place this matchless Beauty on his Throne:*
*Whilst* KATE *and* PIERCY *mourn their wretched Fate,*
*And view the royal Pair with equal Hate;*
*Reflecting on the Pomp of glittering Crowns,*
*And arbitrary Power that knows no Bounds:*

*Whilst*

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KING HENRY the VIII.th introducing the Lady Anna Bulleyn to Cou

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*Whilſt* WOLSEY, *leaning on his Throne of State,*
*Through this unhappy Change foreſees his Fate;*
*Contemplates wiſely on worldly Things,*
*The Cheat of Grandeur, and the Faith of Kings.*

*The King arrives at* Grafton *with* Anna Bulleyn, *and the two Cardinals follow.*

The King was now upon a Tour into the Country, accompanied by his *moſt lovely She.* Being arrived at *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*, the two Cardinals ſoon followed the Court, when it quickly appeared the Scene was changed; * for here they found a very cold Reception, tho' ſome Marks of Diſtinction were ſhewn to *Campeius* as a Stranger, and

* *Shakeſpear* has finely touched theſe Matters.

*Enter Duke of* Norfolk, *Duke of* Suffolk, *Lord* Surry, *and Lord* Chamberlain.

*Nor.* If you will now unite in your Complaints,
And force them with a Conſtancy, the Cardinal
Cannot ſtand under them: If you omit
The Offer of this Time, I cannot promiſe
But that you ſhall ſuſtain more new Diſgraces,
With theſe you bear already.
*Sur.* I am joyful
To meet the leaſt Occaſion that may give me
Remembrance of my Father-in-law, the Duke,
To be reveng'd on him.
*Suff.* Which of the Peers
Have uncontemn'd gone by him, or at leaſt
Strangely neglected? When did he regard
The Stamp of Nobleneſs in any Perſon
Out of himſelf?
*Cham.* My Lords, you ſpeak your Pleaſures:
What he deſerves of you and me I know:
What we can do to him (tho' now the Time
Gives way to us) I much fear. If you cannot
Bar his Acceſs to th' King, never attempt
Any thing on him; for he hath a Witchcraft
Over the King in's Tongue.
*Nor.* O fear him not,
His Spell in that is out; the King hath found
Matter againſt him that for ever mars



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and a Perſon of publick Character: But the Cardinal of *England*, after he had waited on his Brother *Legate* to his Apartment, thinking to go directly to his own, was told by one of the Officers, *That no Proviſion for his Reception had been made in the Court:* At which he was much ſurprized, having never been treated near the King's Perſon with any ſuch Neglect before. However, as the King's Diſpleaſure againſt the Cardinal was not then publickly known, but only whiſpered about, Sir *John Norris*, in a very obliging Manner, made him an Offer of his own Lodgings, till ſome other Proviſion could be made, which

The Honey of his Language. No, he's ſettled,
Not to come off in his moſt high Diſpleaſure.
*Sur.* I ſhould be glad to hear ſuch News as this
Once every Hour.
*Nor.* Believe it, this is true.
In the Divorce, his contrary Proceedings
Are all unfolded; wherein he appears
As I would wiſh mine Enemy.
*Sur.* How came
His Practices to light?
*Suff.* Moſt ſtrangely.
*Sur.* How?
*Suff.* The Cardinal's Letters to the Pope miſcarried,
And came to th' Eye o'th' King; wherein was read,
How that the Cardinal did intreat his Holineſs
To ſtay the Judgment o'th' Divorce; for if
It did take place, I do, quoth he, perceive
My King is tangled in Affection to
A Creature of the Queen's, Lady *Anna Bullen.*
*Sur.* Has the King this?
*Suff.* Believe it.
*Sur.* Will this work?
*Cham.* The King in this perceives him, how he coaſts
And hedges his own Way. But in this Point
All his Tricks founder; and he brings his Phyſick
After his Patient's Death; the King already
Hath married the fair Lady.
*Sur.* Would he had!
*Suff.* May you be happy in your Wiſh, my Lord,
For I profeſs you have it.
*Sur.* Now all Joy
Trace the Conjunction.

*Suff.*

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which the Cardinal accepted of. When he came afterwards into the King's Preſence, he received him graciouſly, to the utmoſt Mortification of many Lords, who had been fooliſh enough to lay Wagers, *That the King would not ſpeak to him.* Yet theſe Legates dined not with the King, who could not be ſpared from ſpending that Time with *Anna Bulleyn* in her own Chamber; and our Author ſays, "They were thought innocent Free-"doms at that Time," which would be difficult to recon-

*Wolſey is received graciouſly.*

*Suff.* My Amen to't.
*Nor.* All Men's.
*Suff.* There's Order given for her Coronation:
Marry this is but young, and may be left
To ſome Ears unrecounted. But, my Lords,
She is a gallant Creature, and compleat
In Mind and Feature. I perſuade me from her
Will fall ſome Bleſſing to this Land, * which ſhall
In it be memoriz'd.
*Sur.* But will the King
Digeſt this Letter of the Cardinal's?
The Lord forbid!
*Nor.* Marry, Amen.
*Suff.* No, no:
There be more Waſps that buz about his Noſe,
Will make this ſting the ſooner. Cardinal *Campeius*
Is ſtol'n away to *Rome*, has ta'en no Leave, and
Hath left th' Cauſe t'th' King unhandled,
Is poſted as the Agent of our Cardinal,
To ſecond all his Plot. I do aſſure you,
The King cry'd *Ha!* at this.
*Cham.* Now God incenſe him;
And let him cry, *Ha!* louder,
*Nor.* But my Lord,
When returns *Cranmer?*
*Suff.* He is return'd with his Opinions,
Which have ſatisfied the King for his Divorce,
Gather'd from all the famous Colleges
Almoſt in *Chriſtendom:* Soon, I believe,
His ſecond Marriage ſhall be publiſh'd, and
Her Coronation. *Katherine* no more
Shall be call'd Queen, but Princeſs Dowager,
A Widow to Prince *Arthur.*

*Nor.*

* This Speech ſeems to be ſuited to the Time the Author lived in, Queen *Elizabeth*'s.

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reconcile with the ſtrict Maxims of Behaviour, that obtain among young Ladies of the firſt Diſtinction at preſent.

*Cavendiſh* relates the Manner of that Lady's Behaviour at Dinner with his Majeſty in Terms ſignificant enough, to whom we ſhall refer.

Cardinal *Wolſey*, after Dinner, waited on the King, who received him with ſeeming Pleaſure, had a long ſerious Diſcourſe with him, and then, taking him by the Hand, led him into the Privy Chamber, where he

*Nor.* This ſame *Cranmer*'s
A worthy Fellow, and hath ta'en much Pain
In the King's Buſineſs.
*Suff.* He has, and we ſhall ſee him
For it an Archbiſhop.
*Nor.* So I hear.
*Suff.* 'Tis ſo.

*Enter* Wolſey *and* Cromwell.

The Cardinal.
*Nor.* Obſerve, obſerve, he's moody.
*Wolf.* The Packet, *Cromwell!*
Gave it you the King?
*Cromw.* To his own Hand, in's Bed-chamber.
*Wolf.* Look'd he o'th' Inſide of the Paper?
*Cromw.* Preſently
He did unſeal them, and the firſt he view'd,
He did it with a ſerious Mind; a Heed
Was in his Countenance. You he bad
Attend him here this Morning.
*Wol.* Is he ready to come Abroad?
*Cromw.* I think by this he is.
*Wolf.* Leave me a while. [*Exit* Cromwell.
It ſhall be to the Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, [*Aſide.*
The *French* King's Siſter; he ſhall marry her.
*Anne Bulleyn!*——No, I'll no *Anne Bulleyn*'s for him,——
There's more in't than fair Viſage——*Bulleyn!*——
No, we'll no *Bulleyn*'s!——ſpeedily I wiſh
To hear from *Rome*,——the Marchioneſs of *Pembroke!*——
*Nor.* He's diſcontented.
*Suff.* May be he hears the King
Does whet his Anger to him.
*Sur.* Sharp enough,
Lord, for thy Juſtice!

*Wolf.*

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he was for a considerable Time alone with him; upon which his Enemies were under great Uneasiness, lest they should miscarry in their Designs of ruining him with his Master. What passed between the King and the Cardinal does not appear: But after all his Majesty was determined to disgrace his Minister, at the Request of his Favourite, and his other Enemies about the Court; though it is said, the King had Conflicts within himself, before he could be firmly fixed in his Resolution of sacrificing an old and faithful Ser-

*Wolf.* [*Aside.*] The late Queen's Gentlewoman, a Knight's Daughter!
To be her Mistress's Mistress! the Queen's Queen!—
This Candle burns not clear, 'tis I must snuff it,
Then out it goes.——What tho' I know her virtuous,*
And well-deserving; yet I know her for
A spleeny *Lutheran*, and not wholesome to
Our Cause!—that she should lie i'th' Bosom of
Our hard-rul'd King!—Again, there is sprung up
An Heretick, an arch one, *Cranmer*, one
Hath crawl'd into the Favour of the King,
And is his Oracle.

*Nor.* He's vex'd at something.

*Enter King, reading of a Schedule.*

*Sur.* I would 'twere something that would fret the String,
The Master-cord of's Heart.

*Suff.* The King! the King!

*King.* What Piles of Wealth hath he accumulated †
To his own Portion! what Expence by th' Hour
Seems to flow from him! how in the Name of Thrift
Does he rake this together! Now, my Lords,
Saw you the Cardinal?

*Nor.* My Lord, we have
Stood here observing him. Some strange Commotion
Is in his Brain; he bites his Lips and starts,
Stops on a sudden, looks upon the Ground,
Then lays his Finger on his Temple; strait
Springs out into fast Gate, then stops again,
Strikes his Breast hard, and then anon he casts
His Eye against the Moon; in most strange Postures
We've seen him set himself.

*King.*

* This also looks like temporizing.

† Great indeed! but for whose Use the Sequel shews.

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Servant; but then, *Love prevailed over all Conſiderations; and who can withſtand it?*

Matters being in this Situation Part of the Evening was ſpent by *Anna Bulleyn*, in contriving with the Cardinal's Foes, how to divert the King the next Morning, from having any Converſation with him; though his Majeſty had then commanded his Attendance, and ſaid, *he would talk further with him.* This ſhe thoroughly accompliſhed; for, when the Car-

*King.* It may well be,
There is a Mutiny in's Mind. This Morning
Papers of State he ſent me to peruſe,
As I requir'd; and wot you what I found
There, on my Conſcience, but unwittingly,
Forſooth, an Inventory, thus importing
The ſeveral Parcels of his Plate, his Treaſure,
Rich Stuffs and Ornaments of Houſhold, which
I find at ſuch a proud Rate, it out-ſpeaks
Poſſeſſion of a Subject.
*Nor.* It's Heaven's Will,
Some Spirit put this Paper in the Packet,
To bleſs your Eye withal.
*King.* If we did think
His Contemplations were above the Earth,
And fix'd on ſpiritual Objects, he ſhould ſtill
Dwell in his Muſings; but I'm afraid
His Thinkings are below the Moon, nor worth
His ſerious conſidering.

*He takes his Seat, whiſpers* Lovel, *who goes to* Wolſey.

*Wolſ.* Heav'n forgive me ——
Ever God bleſs your Highneſs. ——
*King.* Good my Lord,
You are full of heavenly Stuff, and bear the *Inventory*
Of your beſt Grace's in your Mind; the which
You were now running o'er; you have ſcarce Time
To ſteal from ſpiritual Leiſure a brief Span
To Keep your earthly Audit; ſure in that
I deem you an ill Huſband, and am glad
To have you therein my Companion.
*Wolſ.* Sir,
For holy Offices I have a Time;
A Time to think upon the Part of Buſineſs
I bear i'th' State; and Nature does require

Her

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Cardinal came in Obedience to that Command, the King was just ready to mount his Horse, and, without taking further notice of him, in a cool Manner ordered him to *consult with the Lords of the Council: Anna Bullayn* also passed *Wolsey* with an insulting Mein, and rode to take the Air with the King; and, to prevent his Return before the Cardinal's Departure, had taken care to provide an Entertainment for his Majesty in *Hanwell-park.*

*The King neglects him at the 2d Meeting.*

The

Her Times of Preservation, which per Force
I, her frail Son, amongst my Brethren mortal,
Must give my 'Tendance to.
*King.* You have said well.
*Wolf.* And ever may your Highness yoke together,
As I will lend you Cause, my doing well
With my Well-saying.
*King.* 'Tis well said again,
And 'tis a kind of good Deed to say well.
And yet Words are no Deeds. My Father lov'd you;
He said he did, and with this Deed did crown
His Word upon you. Since I had my Office
I've kept you next my Heart; have not alone
Imploy'd you where high Profits might come Home,
But par'd my present Havings to bestow
My Bounties upon you.
*Wolf.* What should this mean? [*Aside.*
*Sur.* The Lord increase this Business! [*Aside.*
*King.* Have I not made you
The prime Man of the State? I pray you tell me,
If what I now pronounce you have found true:
And, if you may confess it, say withal,
If you are bound to us or no? What say you?
*Wolf.* My Sovereign, I confess your Royal Graces,
Showr'd on me daily, have been more than could
My studied Purposes require, which went
Beyond all Man's Endeavours. My Endeavours
Have ever come too short of my Desires;
Yet, fill'd with my Abilities, mine own
Ends have been such, that evermore they pointed
To th' Good of your most Sacred Person, and
The Profit of the State: For your great Graces



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The King's leaving the Cardinal in ſo abrupt a Manner proved in the Event the deciſive Stroak; but he was too wiſe to expoſe himſelf to the Raillery of the Court, by waiting for his Majeſty's Return, which *Anna Bulleyn* had taken ſo effectual a Precaution to retard, judging rightly, that there was no contending for him againſt the Power of this Lady

Heap'd upon me, poor Undeſerver, I
Can nothing render but allegiant Thanks,
My Prayers to Heav'n for you; my Loyalty,
Which ever has, and ever ſhall be growing,
'Till Death, that Winter, kill it.
*King.* Fairly anſwer'd:
A loyal and obedient Subject is
Therein illuſtrated: The Honour of it
Does pay the Act of it, i'th' contrary,
The Foulneſs is the Puniſhment. I preſume,
That as my Hand has open'd Bounty to you,
My Heart dropp'd Love, my Pow'r rain'd Honour, more
On you, than any; ſo your Hand and Heart,
Your Brain, and every Function of your Power,
Should, notwithſtanding that your Bond of Duty,
As 'twere in Love's Particular, be more
To me your Friend than any.
*Wolſ.* I profeſs
That for your Highneſs' Good I ever labour'd
More than my own; that am I, have been, will be:
Tho' all the World ſhould crack their Duty to you,
And throw it from their Soul; tho' Perils did
Abound, as thick as Thought could make 'em, and
Appear in Forms more horrid; yet my Duty,
As doth a Rock againſt the chiding Flood,
Should the Approach of this wild River break,
And ſtand unſhaken yours *
*King.* 'Tis nobly ſpoken;
Take notice, Lords, he has a loyal Breaſt,
For you have ſeen him open't. Read o'er this, [*Giving him Papers.*
And after this; and then to Breakfaſt with
What Appetite you may.

[*Exit* King, *frowning upon Cardinal* Wolſey, *the Nobles throng after him, whiſpering and ſmiling.*

*Wolſ.*

* *The laſt Time of his ſeeing the King.*

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Lady over the Perſon in whoſe Breaſt ſhe had already, in ſo triumphant a Manner, eſtabliſhed her Empire; and therefore immediately after Dinner he departed with his Colleague, *Campeius*, for *London*, in their Way to which they had much ſerious Diſcourſe on this Preſage of the great Calamities which ſhortly after fell heavy on *Wolſey*



*Wolſ.* What ſhould this mean!
What ſudden Anger's this? How have I reap'd it?
He parted frowning from me, as if Ruin
Leap'd from his Eyes. —— So looks the chafed Lion
Upon the daring Huntſman that has gall'd him;
Then makes him nothing. —— I muſt read this Paper:
I fear the Story of his Anger ——— 'Tis ſo ———
This Paper has undone me ——— 'Tis th' Account
Of all that World of Wealth I've drawn together
For mine own Ends, indeed, to gain the Popedom,
And ſee my Friends in *Rome*. O Negligence!
Fit for a Fool to fall by. What croſs Devil
Made me put this main Secret in the Packet
I ſent the King? Is there no Way to cure this?
No new Device to beat this from his Brains?
I know 'twill ſtir him ſtrongly; yet I know
A Way, if I take right, in ſpight of Fortune,
Will bring me off again. —— What's this ——— *To the Pope?*
The Letter, as I live, with all the Buſineſs
I writ to's Holineſs. Nay, then farewel;
I've touch'd the higheſt Point of all my Greatneſs,
And, from that full Meridian of my Glory,
I haſte now to my Setting. I ſhall fall
Like a bright Exhalation in the Evening,
And no Man ſee me more.

Tho' *Shakeſpear* aſcribes, as one of the Cauſes of the Cardinal's Diſgrace, to his deſigning to ſend to *Rome* the great Wealth he had got together, which Account he has taken from ſome of our old Chronicle Writers, who relate their Hearſay without any Evidence whatſoever, all his great Wealth, as it afterwards appeared, conſiſted only in rich Goods, and ſome Jewels, not in Money; and, whatever it was, the King had all at laſt.

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*The Cardinal returns to London.*

The Cardinal was no ſooner got to *London*, but his Enemies ſet the Lawyers to work in drawing up *Indictments*, *Articles*, and other Charges for male Adminiſtration, NATURAL TREATMENT TO FALLEN MINISTERS; but they did not think proper to exhibit them till after *Campeius* was departed the Kingdom; and that he might the ſooner be gone, in order to give him his Audience of Leave, the King haſtened to *London*, where *Campeius* was ſoon introduced to his Majeſty. The King had ſuch a Command of himſelf as to take no notice of *Campeius*'s Proceedings, but looked pleaſantly on him, and wiſhed him a good Journey. Being returned from his Audience, he took an affectionate Leave of his Brother Cardinal, and then prepared to embark.

*Campeius has his Audience of Leave.*

His Baggage was ſent before him to be put on Board the Ship, where the *Cuſtom-houſe* Officers throughly ſearched it, under Pretence of looking for contraband Goods; but Biſhop *Burnet* aſſigns us two Reaſons for this Search; 1*ſt*, in hopes of catching *Wolſey*'s Treaſure among it; 2*dly*, of finding the King's Love-letters to *Anna Bulleyn*, which were privately conveyed out of his Cabinet and ſent to *Rome*, where he ſaw them in the *Vatican* Library; for, he knowing the King's Hand, he was convinced they were writ by him, though ſo ill wrote, they were ſcarce legible, and the *French* faulty; which he got Dr. *Fell* to copy out for him. But the Biſhop's Diſciple, *Rapin*, gives us a 3*d* Reaſon; "It is probable, ſays "he, the King hoped to find the Decretal Bull, "which he had ſeen in his Hands, not knowing it "was burnt."

*Campeius* made loud Complaints of this Inſult, and writ to the King to demand Satisfaction, as an Affront of the higheſt Nature done to the Legate of the

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the Holy See. To this the King answered, on the 22d of *Oct.* "His Officers had only done their Duty, in "executing Orders long since established, with regard "to Persons going out of the Kingdom: That he "was surprized he should talk of being Legate when "recalled; and much more at his being so ignorant, "in regard he was Bishop of *Salisbury*, of the Laws "of the Land, as to dare to assume that Title without "his License." Nevertheless, *Wolsey* was afterwards destroyed, tho' he acted as Legate with his License.

*Campeius*, perceiving by this Answer that the King intended not to give him Satisfaction, thought himself very happy that he was even suffered to depart. Indeed, he had good Reason to wish himself out of the Kingdom, since he could not be unacquainted how angry the King was at the Disappointment he had met with.

Campeius *justified from some unfair Reflections.*

And, now we are speaking of *Campeius*, we think it here incumbent on us to do an Act of Justice to the Memory of this great Man, who has been represented by Bishop *Burnet*, upon the Authority of an obscure Libel, as leading at that Time a very dissolute Life, "*Hunting* and *Gaming* all the Day long, and "following Whores at Night, as a vile, vicious "Stranger and Priest, who lived in *England* in all "manner of Disorders, in which both he and his "Bastard-son were guilty."

In the first Place it was not his Bastard, but his legitimate Son, who was knighted by the King; that Cardinal, being at first a married Man, had had five Children; but, his Wife dying, he took Orders, and was in time promoted to the Purple.

Whether any Liberties taken by the young Knight, or *Campana*, who the Pope sent over to *Campeius*, and was one of his Bed-chamber when in *England*, might occasion this Scandal is uncertain: It is, however,

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ever, ungenerous to determine any thing with Assurance, concerning the Matter, on the single Evidence of a Traveller in a foreign Country, afterwards hanged for Treason in his own: Neither does the Cardinal's Age, or the State of his Health at that Time, agree with this Character; but, allowing our *English* Air so healthful and restorative, that it might contribute to make an old Gentleman (so violently afflicted with the Gout upon his first coming over, that he could neither go nor stand) in a few Months vigorous and luxuriant, it may still become us to consider a little, what sort of Character he bore in the World, among several Persons of Probity and Credit, before we pass such a gross Censure on him.

*Hall*, who lived at that Time in *London*, and was no Stranger to this Legate's Course of Life, and rarely suffers any Opportunity of exposing the Clergy to escape him, says, "*Campeius* was a Man of great "Wit and Experience; better learned in the Papal "Laws than in Divinity."— Father *Paul* stiles him, a "Man of Wisdom and Authority."— *Godwin*, "No bad "Man, and a sincere Speaker;"— *Fuller*, a good, heavy "Man."— *Polydor Virgil* has these Words, *Inter juris consultos jure consultissimus!*— *Erasmus* these, *Reverendissime Domine, virtutum tuarum insignium, & eruditionis rarissimæ fama, inflammatus jampridem gestio, & nosse propius & coram adorare,— Insignem heroa & ecclesiæ Romanæ columen.*— After seeing these, what can we think of our learned Prelate's Character?

The only Ground of Complaint *Fox* had against him, was for his Reply to the People of *Strasburg*, which at most only argues his strict Adherence to the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church, and the more likely he should incline to punish than encourage Incontinency in the Clergy; which, if he had notoriously exemplified, as he is represented to have done in his own Conduct, the Success of his Missions, twice into *Germany*, and once into *England*, had been not only unlike-

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unlikely, but the Conſiſtency of deputing ſuch a one, from a Court ſo refined and ſo cautious in its Meaſures, as that of *Rome*, altogether incompatible.

*The King orders* Wolſey *to be proſecuted at Law.*

But, to return, the King's Anger againſt *Wolſey* was ſo great, that he had ſcarce Patience to ſtay till *Campeius* was gone out of the Kingdom, before he cauſed Proſecutions to be publickly ſet on foot againſt him. The Writer of the *Church Hiſtory* gives us this Account of the Steps taken to diſgrace the Cardinal.

" *Wolſey*'s Honours were gradually obtained, but " his Fall was ſudden, and without any apparent " Miſbehaviour againſt the Prince whom he had " always laboured to ſerve. The King, being very " much out of Temper upon Account of the *Avocation* " of his Cauſe, from the *Legatine* Court in *England* " to the *Conſiſtorial* Court at *Rome*, and having given " ear to a great many diſſerviceable Reports againſt " the Cardinal, ordered his two ſworn Enemies, the " Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, to go to him, *October* " the 18th, and in the King's Name to " demand the Great Seal * from him, and " let him know, that it was his Majeſty's " Pleaſure, that he ſhould immediately

*Diſmiſſes him from his Office of Chancellor.*

" depart

* *Shakeſpear* deſcribes the Manner of the King's ſending for the Great Seal, and what enſued, in the following moving Relation.

*Enter to* Wolſey *the Dukes of* Norfolk *and* Suffolk, *the Earl of* Surry, *and the Lord* Chamberlain.

*Nor.* Hear the King's Pleaſure, Cardinal, who commands you
To render up the Great Seal preſently
Into our Hands, and to confine yourſelf
To *Aſher-houſe*, my Lord of *Winchester*'s,
'Till you hear further from his Highneſs.
*Wolſ.* Stay:
Where's your Commiſſion, Lords? Words cannot carry
Authority ſo mighty.

*Suff.*

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" depart from his Palace, called *York-house*, and retire " to *Esher*, a Country-seat near *Hampton-court*, and " belonging to the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Tempo- " ralities

*Suff.* Who dare cross 'em,
Bearing the King's Will from his Mouth expressly?
*Wolf.* 'Till I find more than Will, or Words to do it,
I mean your Malice, know, officious Lords,
I dare, and must deny it. Now I feel
Of what coarse Metal ye are molded,——Envy:
How eagerly ye follow my Disgrace!
As if it fed ye, and how sleek and wanton
Y'appear in every Thing may bring my Ruin!
Follow your envious Courses, Men of Malice!
You have a *Christian* Warrant for 'em, and
In time will find their fit Rewards. That Seal,
You ask with such a Violence, the King
(Mine and your Master) with his own Hand gave me;
Bad me enjoy it, with the Place and Honours,
During my Life; and, to confirm his Goodness,
Ty'd it by Letters Patent. Now who'll take it?
*Sur.* The King that gave it.
*Wolf.* It must be himself then.
*Sur.* Thou'rt a proud Traitor, Priest!
*Wolf.* Proud Lord, thou lyest!
Within these forty Hours *Surry* durst better
Have burnt that Tongue, than said so.
*Sur.* Thy Ambition,
Thou scarlet Sin, robb'd this bewailing Land
Of noble *Buckingham*, * my Father in-law;
The Heads of all thy Brother Cardinals,
With thee and all thy best Parts bound together,
Weigh'd not a Hair of his. Plague of your Policy!
You sent me Deputy for *Ireland*,
Far from his Succour; from the King, from all
That might have Mercy on the Fault thou gav'st him:
Whilst your great Goodness, out of holy Pity,
Absolv'd him with an Ax.
*Wolf.* This, and all else
This talking Lord can lay upon my Credit,
I answer is most false. The Duke by Law
Found his Deserts. How innocent I was
From any private Malice in his End,
His noble Jury and foul Cause can witness.

If

* *Yet* Norfolk, Surry's *own Father, sat as Lord High Steward, and passed Sentence of Death on him.*

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" ralities whereof had lately been conferr'd on the " Cardinal. Upon the Delivery of this Meſſage, " the Cardinal refuſed to obey, unleſs they could " ſhew

If I lov'd many Words, Lord, I ſhould tell you,
You have as little Honeſty as Honour;
That, in the Way of Loyalty and Truth
Toward the King, my ever Royal Maſter,
Dare mate a ſounder Man than *Surry* can be,
And all that love his Follies.
*Sur.* By my Soul,
Your long Coat, Prieſt, protects you, thou ſhouldſt feel
My Sword i'th' Life-blood of thee elſe! — My Lords,
Can you endure to hear this Arrogance?
And from this Fellow? If we live thus tamely,
To be thus jaded by a Piece of Scarlet,
Farewel Nobility, let his Grace go forward,
And dare us with his Cap, like Larks.
*Wolſ.* All Goodneſs
Is poiſon to thy Stomach.
*Sur.* Yes, that *Goodneſs*
Of gleaning all the Land's Wealth into one,
Into your own Hands, Card'nal, by Extortion:
The *Goodneſs* of your intercepted Packets,
You writ to th' Pope, againſt the King; your *Goodneſs*,
Since you provoke me, ſhall be moſt notorious.
My Lord of *Norfolk*, as you're truly noble,
As you reſpect the Common Good, the State
Of our deſpis'd Nobility, our Iſſues,
Who, if he live, will ſcarce be Gentlemen,
Produce the grand Sum of his Sins, the Articles
Collected from his Life. I'll ſtartle you
Worſe than the ſcaring Bell, when the brown Wench
Lay kiſſing in your Arms, Lord Cardinal.
*Wolſ.* How much methinks I could deſpiſe this Man,
But that I'm bound in Charity againſt it.
*Nor.* Thoſe Articles, my Lord, are in th' King's Hand:
But thus much, they are foul one's.
*Wolſ.* So much fairer
And Spotleſs ſhall mine Innocence ariſe,
When the King knows my Truth.
*Sur.* This cannot ſave you:
I thank my Memory, yet I remember
Some of theſe Articles, and out they ſhall. —
Now, if you can, bluſh, and cry, *Guilty*, Cardinal,
You'll ſhew a little Honeſty.



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" ſhew him a written Order, ſigned by the King;
" further adding, *That he held that Place by Patent*
" *for Life.* His Refuſal being ſignified to the King,
" he

*Wolſ.* Speak on, Sir,
I dare your worſt Objections: If I bluſh,
It is to ſee a Nobleman want Manners.
*Sur.* I'd rather want thoſe than my Head; have at you.
Firſt, That, without the King's Aſſent or Knowledge,
You wrought to be a Legate, by which Power
You maim'd the Juriſdiction of all Biſhops.
*Nor.* Then, That, in all you writ to *Rome*, or elſe
To foreign Princes, *Ego & Rex meus*
Was ſtill inſcrib'd, in which you brought the King
To be your Servant.
*Suff.* That, without the Knowledge
Either of King or Council, when you went
Ambaſſador to the Emperor, you made bold
To carry into *Flanders* the Great Seal.
*Sur. Item*, You ſent a large Commiſſion
To *Gregory de Caſſali*, to conclude,
Without the King's Will, or the State's Allowance,
A League between his Highneſs and *Ferrara*.
*Suff.* That, out of meer Ambition, you have made
Your holy Hat be ſtampt on the King's Coin.
*Sur.* That you have ſent innumerable Subſtance
(By what Means got I leave to your own Conſcience)
To furniſh *Rome*, and to prepare the Ways
You have for Dignities, to the mere undoing
Of all the Kingdom. Many more there are,
Which, ſince they are of you, and odious,
I will not taint my Mouth with.
*Cham.* O, my Lord,
Preſs not a falling Man too far; 'tis Virtue:
His Faults lie open to the Laws; let them,
Not you, correct him. My Heart weeps to ſee him
So little of his great Self.
*Sur.* I forgive him.
*Suff.* Lord Cardinal, the King's further Pleaſure is,
(Becauſe all thoſe Things you have done of late,
By your Pow'r Legatine, within this Kingdom,
Fall in the Compaſs of a Premunire)
That therefore ſuch a Writ be ſued againſt you,
To forfeit all your Goods, Lands, Tenements,
Caſtles, and whatſoever, and to be
Out of the King's Protection. This is my Charge.

*Nor.*

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" he ſent the ſame Perſons the next Day with a " peremptory Command to deliver up the Great Seal " without the leaſt Demurr, which was done accord-



*Nor.* * And ſo we'll leave you to your Meditations
How to live better. For your ſtubborn Anſwer,
About the giving back the Great Seal to us,
The King ſhall know it, and no doubt ſhall thank you.
So fare you well, my little good Lord Cardinal.

[*Exeunt all but* Wolſey.

*Wolſ.* So farewel to the little Good you bear me.
Farewel, a long Farewel, to all my Greatneſs!
This is the State of Man; To-day he puts forth
The tender Leaves of Hopes, To-morrow bloſſoms,
And bears his bluſhing Honours thick upon him:
The third Day comes a Froſt, a killing Froſt,
And, when he thinks, good eaſy Man, full ſurely,
His Greatneſs is a ripening, nips his Root,
And then he falls, as I do. I have ventur'd,
Like little wanton Boys, that ſwim on Bladders,
Theſe many Summers in a Sea of Glory;
But far beyond my Depth: My high-blown Pride
At Length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary, and old with Service, to the Mercy
Of a rude Stream, that muſt for ever hide me.
Vain Pomp and Glory of the World! I hate ye.
I feel my Heart new open'd. O how wretched
Is that poor Man that hangs on Princes Favours!
There is, betwixt that Smile we would aſpire to,
That ſweet Aſpect of Princes, an our Ruin,
More Pangs and Fears, than War or Women have.
And, when he falls, he falls like *Lucifer*,
Never to hope again.

*Enter* Cromwell, *ſtanding amaſed.*

Why, how now, *Cromwell?*
*Crom.* I have no Power to ſpeak, Sir.
*Wolſ.* What, amaz'd
At my Misfortunes! Can thy Spirit wonder
A great Man ſhould decline? Nay, If you weep,
I'm fall'n indeed.
*Crom.* How does your Grace?
*Wolſ.* Why, well;
Never ſo truly happy, my good *Cromwell.*
I know myſelf now, and I feel within me

A

* The Duke introduced in this Scene had been dead five Years, and *Surry*, *Buckingham*'s Son-in-Law, was then Duke of *Norfolk.*

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" ingly by the Cardinal; yet not without ſome tart
" Reflections on the Meſſengers, who, not without
" Grounds,

A Peace above all earthly Dignities,
A ſtill and quiet Conſcience. The King has cur'd me,
I humbly thank his Grace; and from theſe Shoulders,
Theſe ruin'd Pillars, out of Pity, taken
A Load would ſink a Navy, too much Honour.
O 'tis a Burden! *Cromwell*, 'tis a Burden
Too heavy for a Man that hopes for Heav'n.
*Cromw.* I'm glad your Grace has made that right Uſe of it.
*Wolſ.* I hope I have: I'm able now, methinks,
Out of a Fortitude of Soul I feel,
T'endure more Miſeries, and greater far
Than my weak-hearted Enemies dare offer.
What News abroad?
*Cromw.* The heavieſt, and the worſt,
Is your Diſpleaſure with the King.
*Wolſ.* God bleſs him!
*Cromw.* The next is, that Sir *Thomas More* is choſen
Lord Chancellor in your Place.
*Wolſ.* That's ſomewhat ſudden——
But he's a learned Man. May he continue
Long in his Highneſs' Favour, and do Juſtice,
For Truth's Sake and his Conſcience, that his Bones,
When he has run his Courſe and ſleeps in Bleſſings,
May have a Tomb of Orphans Tears wept on him.
What more?
*Cromw.* That *Cranmer* is return'd with Welcome;
Inſtall'd Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *
*Wolſ.* That's News indeed.
*Cromw.* Laſt, that the Lady *Anne*,
Whom the King hath in Secrecy long married,
This Day was view'd in open, as his Queen, †
Going to Chapel, and the Voice is now
Only about her Coronation.
*Wolſ.* There was the Weight that pull'd me down, O *Cromwell!*
The King has gone beyond me: All my Glories,
In that one Woman, I have loſt for ever.
No Sun ſhall ever uſher forth my Honours,
Or guild again the noble Troops that waited
Upon my Smiles. Go get thee from me, *Cromwell*,
I am a poor fall'n Man, unworthy now
To be thy Lord and Maſter. Seek the King,
(That Sun, I pray may never ſet) Iv'e told him,
What and how true thou art; he will advance thee; Some

* This did not happen till ſome Time after the Cardinal's Death.
† Nor this.

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" Grounds, were ſuſpected to have the chief Hand " in his Diſgrace." Other

Some little Memory of me will ſtir him,
I know his noble Nature, not to let
Thy hopeful Service periſh too. Good *Cromwell*,
Neglect him not; make uſe now, and provide
For thine own future Safety.
*Cromw.* O my Lord!
Muſt then I leave you? muſt I needs forego
So good, ſo noble, and ſo true a Maſter?
Bear witneſs, all that have not Hearts of Iron,
With what a Sorrow *Cromwell* leaves his Lord:
The King ſhall have my Service; but my Prayers
For ever and for ever ſhall be yours.
*Wolſ. Cromwell*, I did not think to ſhed a Tear
In all my Miſeries; but thou haſt forc'd me,
Out of thy honeſt Truth, to play the Woman.
Let's dry our Eyes: And thus far hear me, *Cromwell*;
And when I am forgotten, as I ſhall be,
And ſleep in dull cold Marble, where no mention
Of me muſt more be heard, ſay then I taught thee,
Say, *Wolſey*, that once trod the Ways of Glory,
And ſounded all the Depths and Shoals of Honour,
Found thee a Way out of his Wreck to riſe in:
A ſure and ſafe one, tho' thy Maſter miſs'd it.
Mark but my Fall, and that which ruin'd me.
*Cromwell*, I charge thee, fling away Ambition,
By that Sin fell the Angels; how can Man then
(The Image of his Maker) hope to win it?
Love thy ſelf laſt, cheriſh thoſe Hearts that hate thee:
Corruption wins not more than Honeſty.
Still in thy Right-hand carry gentle Peace,
To ſilence envious Tongues. Be juſt, and fear not.
Let all the Ends thou aim'ſt at be thy Country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's; then if thou fall'ſt, O *Cromwell!*
Thou fall'ſt a bleſſed Martyr.' Serve the King;
And pr'ythee lead me in———
There take an Inventory of all I have,
To the laſt Penny, 'tis the King's. My Robe,
And my Integrity to Heav'n is all
I dare now call mine own. O *Cromwell! Cromwell!*
Had I but ſerv'd my God with half the Zeal
I ſerv'd my King, he would not, in mine Age,
Have left me naked to mine Enemies.
*Cromw.* Good Sir, have Patience.
*Wolſ.* So I have. Farewel
The Hopes of Court! my Hopes in Heav'n do dwell.

[*Exeunt*

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Other Authors ſay, that the firſt Day of *Michaelmas Term* was come, before the Cardinal's Enemies could ſettle how to proceed againſt him; and that he went to *Weſtminſter-hall* in his uſual State, and ſat there for the laſt Time; contrary to what the Record of that Proceeding, to be ſeen in *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. ſets forth, which we have here introduced a Tranſlation of.

*On the Delivery of the Great Seal.* *

" MEmorandum, That on *Sunday* the 17th Day " of *October*, in the 21ſt Year of King *Henry* " the VIIIth's Reign, the ſaid Lord the King's Great " Seal, in the Cuſtody of the moſt Rev. Father in " Chriſt,

* *We preſume it will not be thought diſagreeable to ſubjoin ſome Memoirs of the Lord High* Chancellors, *Lord* Keepers, *and Lords* Commiſſioners *of the Great Seal, from the Time Cardinal* Wolſey *delivered it up.*

1529. UPon Cardinal *Wolſey's* Diſgrace the Great Seal was given to Sir *Thomas More*, *Oct.* the 25th, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. Several of the Noblemen, who attended him the firſt time to *Weſtminſter-hall*, were very full of their Compliments, but Sir *Thomas* was nothing moved thereat; indeed, it put him in mind of thoſe who had gone before him; for, caſting his Eye to the Court, where his Predeceſſor had ſat, he broke out into theſe Expreſſions: 'But when I look upon this Seat, 'and think of what Kind of 'Perſonages have poſſeſſed this 'Place before me; when I call 'to mind who *He* was that 'ſat in it laſt of all, a Man of 'what ſingular Wiſdom, of 'what notable Experience, what 'a proſperous and favourable 'Fortune he had for a great 'Space, and how at laſt he had a 'grievous Fall, I have Cauſe e-'nough, by my Predeceſſor's 'Example, to think Honour but 'ſlippery, and this Dignity not 'ſo grateful to me, as it may 'ſeem to be to others.'

Sir *Thomas* was a Gentleman of admirable Attainments in all Sorts of Learning: His *Utopia* is admired throughout *Europe*; and his Hiſtory of *Richard* the IIId has obtained ſo much Credit with Hiſtorians, that they have entirely depended on its Authority. However, during the time he held the Seal, nothing extraordinary happened in this Court. If we believe what ſome Authors relate, *he did not leave one Cauſe to be heard*; and it is remarkable, that from his Time the Chuſing Lord Chancellors from the *Laie-*

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" Chriſt, *Thomas*, by the Title of *St. Cecile* beyond " *Tiber*, of the Holy See of *Rome*, Cardinal Prieſt, " Archbiſhop of *York*, Chancellor of *England*; and " kept in a certain Bag of white Leather, ſealed ſix " Times with white Wax and the Seal of the ſame " Cardinal, was delivered by the Cardinal in Perſon, " in Obedience to the Lord the King's Orders, to " the illuſtrious Princes, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, " Treaſurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, " Earl Marſhal of *England*, at the Houſe of the ſaid " Cardinal at *Weſtminſter*, and in an upper Appart- " ment near the ſaid Cardinal's walking Place, about " ſix of the Clock in the Evening of the ſame Day, " in the Preſence of *William Fitz Williams*, Knight, " Trea-



*ty* came into Uſe; for, upon the Seal being taken from Sir *Thomas More*,

*May* the 20th, his Ma- 1533. jeſty committed the Cuſtody of it to Sir *Thomas Audley*, and commanded him to be called *Lord Keeper*; and, *Sept.* the 6th, a new Seal was made and delivered to him; ſoon after which he was made Lord Chancellor, and created a Peer; who being taken ill, *Thomas* Lord *Wriotheſly* was, by ſpecial Commiſſion, (as appears in *Rymer*, Tom. XIV. *fo.* 446.) appointed to keep and exerciſe the Great Seal during his Illneſs. Lord *Audley* was Chancellor of *England* above 12 Years, and was a Man of conſummate Parts and uncommon Prudence, and, by his wary Management, weathered King *Henry*'s boiſterous Humour; died, crowned with much Honour, *April* the 30th, 1545, and was buried in the Church of *Saffron Walden*, in *Eſſex*, leaving a great Eſtate to his Daughter, afterwards married to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, from whom is lineally deſcended the preſent Earl of *Suffolk*.

*May* the 30th, the Lord *Wriotheſley*, who had been 1545. created Earl of *Southampton*, was conſtituted Lord high Chancellor, who held the Seal to the 6th of *March*, 1 *Edw.* VI. when it was taken from him, on his ſealing a ſpecial Commiſſion for hearing Cauſes in Chancery, without Warrant from the Council. From this Nobleman his Grace *John* Duke of *Bedford*, by the Mother's Side, is deſcended; whoſe Brother, the late Duke, was baptized *Wriotheſley*, in order to perpetuate the Memory of this noble Lord.

*June* the 29th, it was committed to *William* 1547. *Paulet*, Lord *St. John*, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*, who held it

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" Treaſurer of the Lord the King's Houſhold; *John* " *Taylor Prieſt*, Maſter of the Rolls; and *Stephen Gar-* " *diner*, Prieſt, of the ſaid Lord the King's Privy " Council; in whoſe Preſence, the ſaid Dukes put " the Seal ſo incloſed into another Bag of Crimſon " Velvet, adorn'd with the Arms and Enſigns of " *England*; and which they had ſealed with red " Wax by the ſaid *Stephen Gardiner*; and thus ſealed " they put it into a certain Box bound with Iron " and locked, the Key whereof the ſaid *Stephen* kept " in



it no longer than from the 29th of *June* to the 30th of *Nov.* following, 3 *Edw.* VI. he was created Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and the next Year conſtituted Lord Treaſurer of *England*. In the 5th Year of the ſame Reign he was honoured with the Title of Marquis of *Wincheſter*, and ſat as High Steward upon the Trial of the Duke of *Somerſet*. He was Lord Treaſurer 21 Years, and died 14 *Eliz.* in the 97th Year of his Age, having lived to ſee 103 of his own Generation. On being aſked, *How he did to bear up in the dangerous Times he paſſed through, wherein great Alterations were made both in Church and State?* he replied, *By being a Willow, and not an Oak.* His Grace, the preſent Duke of *Bolton*, is lineally deſcended from this great and worthy Peer.

*Nov.* the 30th, in the 1547. ſame Year, ſucceeded Sir *Richard Rich*, with the Title of Lord *Chancellor*, from whom the preſent Right Hon. *Edward Rich*, Earl of *Warwick* and *Holland*, is deſcended.

*Richard Goodrick*, Biſhop of *Ely*, on the 19th 1551. of *June*, ſucceeded Sir *Richard*: But our Author tells us, that he could find nothing memorable concerning him, only that he was the firſt Clergyman who had the Cuſtody of the Great Seal ſince Cardinal *Wolſey*.

*Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, on the 1553. 21ſt of *Sept.* (whoſe Character we have already given in the foregoing Part of this Work) ſucceeded *Goodrick*.

*Nicholas Heath*, Archbiſhop of York, on the 1555. 1ſt of *Jan.* followed *Gardiner*; his Grace was a wiſe and learned Man, and of great Integrity, being more devoted to purſue the Dictates of his own Conſcience, than to perſecute others.

Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, on the 4th of *April*, was 1559. made Keeper of the Great Seal, 1 *Eliz.* who was doubtful whether he could act with the ſame Authority as if he was Chancellor. To obviate this Doubt an Act paſſed, 5 *Eliz.* declaring, " That the Authority of the " Keeper of the Great Seal was " the ſame with that of the " Chancellor." So that the Judicial

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" in his own Cuſtody, and delivered the Box to the " before-named Mr. *John Taylor* to be carried to the " Lord the King: Which *John Taylor* did afterwards, " on *Wedneſday* the 20th Day of *October*, in the " aforeſaid Year, preſent the Seal, locked in a Box " as above ſet forth, to his Majeſty, in one of the in- " ner Apartments, near the Oratory of the ſaid Lord " the King, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, about the Noon " of the ſame Day. The Lord the King then and " there immediately had the Box opened, and the " Great

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

dicial Authority of both thoſe Offices, if they were before diſtinct, were here united in one. His Lordſhip was educated in *Bennet*'s College, *Cambridge*; and, having applied himſelf to the Study of the *Common Law*, he proved, ſays the Author of the *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, 'Not only a good Lawyer, but a 'Man of great Wiſdom and Un- 'derſtanding in all Sorts of Af- 'fairs; he had an admirable 'Memory to recollect all the 'Circumſtances of any Buſineſs 'before him, and as great Pa- 'tience to conſider them; his 'uſual Saying was, *Let us ſtay 'a little, and we ſhall have done 'the ſooner.* Grandeur he never 'affected, as appeared from the 'Anſwer he made Queen *Eli- 'zabeth*, when ſhe paid him a 'Viſit at a neat Houſe he had in 'Hertfordſhire, who ſaid, *Your 'Houſe ſeems too little for your 'Lordſhip. — No, Madam, your 'Highneſs has made me too big for 'my Houſe.*

*April* the 25th, *Thomas* 1579. *Bromley*, Eſq; Sollicitor General, was made Lord Chancellor, and held the Seal about eight Years; from whom we are informed the late famous *William Bromley*, Eſq; Member for the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who made ſo conſiderable a Figure in the World, was lineally deſcended.

*April* the 29th, the Seal was delivered to Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor, who held it till his Death. He had a large Share of Abilities, which with his extraordinary Prudence made him ſhine greatly. He was ſo exactly juſt, yet affable, that he was choſen to keep the Queen's Conſcience as Chancellor, and to expreſs her Senſe as Speaker. His Diſpatch was quick yet weighty, and his Orders many, yet conſiſtent, being very ſeldom reverſed, and his Advice in Council much prevailed. From this great Man the preſent Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Hatton* is deſcended. 1587.

*May* the 29th, the Seal was delivered to Sir *John Puckering*, with the Title of Lord Keeper, who alſo held it to the Time of his Death: But how he behaved



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" Great Seal, inclosed and sealed in the said Bags, " taken out, and caused some Briefs and a Proclamation, against the Exportation of Corn out of the " Kingdom, to be sealed in his Presence, the said " Messieurs *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardiner*, as likewise *Henry Norris*, *Thomas Henneage*, and others of " the Lord the King's secret Chamber; *Radulph* " *Paxsall*, Clerk of the Crown of *England*; *John Croke*, " Comptroller of the *Hanaper*; *John Judd*, Deputy; " and *Thomas Hall*, Clerk of the said *Hanaper*, being " then present. " Mat-



behaved during the four Years he had the Great Seal no way appears upon Record.

1596. No sooner did this Gentleman make his Exit, but the Lord Treasurer, *Burleigh*, and others received and kept the Seal for some little Time, without any particular Title. His Lordship's Character is, 'That he was a Person of great 'Learning, singular Judgment, 'admirable Moderation, and 'comely Gravity, who became 'the chiefest Statesman of the 'Age wherein he lived; unto 'whose Prudence in Council 'much is attributed, for the 'Blessings enjoyed by that pros-'perous and happy Govern-'ment, throughout the long 'Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of 'happy Memory;" and from whom are descended the present Right Hon. *James Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Brownlow Cecil*, Earl of *Exeter*.

1596. *May* the 6th, it was delivered to Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Master of the Rolls, with the Title of Lord Keeper, till the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*: When King *James*, by Bill signed the 5th of *April*, 1603, appointed the Great Seal of *England* so to continue, until, on the 20th of *June* next following, the Seal being broken, the King delivered another Seal, with the Image, Arms, and Title of himself, to the said Sir *Thomas*; and on the 24th of *July* made Sir *Thomas* (then created Peer, by the Title of Lord *Ellesmere*,) Lord High Chancellor, who carried himself with much Caution and Prudence in this great Post, and made several good Regulations, for the Benefit of the Suitors, many of which are in use at this Day. During this Lord's Chancellorship there were two Indictments for Premunire preferred against him in the *King's Bench*, on Account of Decrees made by him in *Chancery* after Judgment in the *Common Laws*, [See the Articles exhibited against Cardinal *Wolsey*.] the one by *Richard Granville*, and the other by *William Allen*, which were by the Grand Jury, consisting of very substantial Persons, returned *Ignoramus*, though they were

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" Matters being thus tranſacted, the ſame Lord the " King cauſed the Great Seal aforeſaid to be returned " into the ſame white Bag, and to be ſealed with his " own ſealing Ring on white Wax, and with the Seals " of the ſaid Maſters *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardi-* " *ner*, which, when he ſaw done, his Majeſty kept " the Great Seal in his own Cuſtody till *Monday* the " 23th Day of the ſame Month of *October*; on which " Day, about three in the Afternoon, the aforeſaid " Lord the King being at his Mannor of *Plaiſance*,





were twice ſent out; and Sir *Francis Bacon*, in a Letter to King *James* the Ift, ſays, 'If 'they were ſet on that preferred 'them, they were the worſt 'Markſmen that ever were that 'ſet them on, for there could 'not have been choſen two ſuch 'Cauſes for the Honour and 'Advantage of the Chancery, 'for the Juſtneſs of the Decrees, 'and the Foulneſs and Scandal 'of the Fact and Perſon in thoſe 'that impeached the Decrees.' This Attack on the Chancery Sir *Francis* imputes principally to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*. After this King *James*, upon a ſolemn Hearing, on the Objection againſt the High Court of Chancery's Interpoſing in Suits after Judgment in the *Common Law*, was pleaſed to give Judgment, *That the Statutes of* 27 Edw. III. cap. 1. *and of* 4 *Hen.* IV. cap. 23. *did not extend to the Court of Chancery:* And ſince that, the Decrees made by this Court, in order to reſtrain the Rigour of the Common Law after Judgment have not been queſtioned, but on the contrary much encouraged. From Lord *Elleſmere* his Grace the preſent Duke of *Bridgewater* is deſcended.

*March* the 7th, it was given to Sir *Francis Bacon*, with the Title of Lord Keeper, who was ſoon after created Viſcount *Verulam*, and, on the 14th of *Jan.* 1617, was made Lord High Chancellor. He was indeed allowed to be one of the greateſt Men of the Age; his generous and affable Diſpoſition procured him the Eſteem and Admiration of all People: He inſtilled the wholeſome Precept of Prudence and Honour into the Nobility; ſound Principles, Arts, and Sciences, he communicated to the Learned; noble Maxims of Government to Princes, and excellent Rules of Life to the People: But notwithſtanding this Character, this moſt learned Nobleman was, the 3d of *May*, 1621, removed for Corruption, *&c. Wilſon* the Hiſtorian ſpeaks thus of his Lordſhip; 'That he was a fit Jewel 'to have beautified and adorned a flouriſhing Kingdom, if 'his Flaws had not diſgraced 'the Luſtre that ſhould have ſet 'him off.' 'One Fault he had, 1616.

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" otherwiſe *Eaſt Greenwich*, and in his inner Apart-
" ment near the Oratory, in the Preſence of the ſaid
" *Henry Norris*, *Chriſtopher Hales*, Attorney General
" of the ſaid Lord the King, and others of the Privy
" Chamber of the ſaid Lord the King, he gave and
" delivered his Great Seal, in the aforeſaid Bag, ſealed
" and repoſited in the ſaid Box, to his much beloved
" Counſellor, *Thomas More*, Knt. to be kept, exer-
" ciſed and occupied; and then and there did con-
" ſtitute and appoint the ſaid *Thomas More* his Chan-
" cellor



ſays another Author, 'that he 'was above the Age he lived 'in; he came to a Cenſure for 'the moſt ſimple and ridiculous 'Follies that ever entered into 'the Heart of a wiſe Man; his 'Crimes were *Bribery* and *Cor-'ruption*, for both which he had 'often condemned others as a 'Judge, and now comes to ſuf-'fer as a Delinquent.' He was ſo full of his own Conviction that he threw himſelf and Cauſe at his Judges Feet; before he was condemned his Submiſſion and Supplication to the Lords has been reckoned a fine Piece of moving *Oratory*; but it is too long to be here introduced.

And the Seal was for a ſhort time delivered to three Commiſſioners, *Henry* Viſcount *Mandeville*, Ld. Preſident of the Council; the Duke of *Richmond*, and Sir *Julius Cæſar*, Knt. Maſter of the Rolls.

*July* the 10th, Dr. 1621. *John Williams*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, received it with the Title of Lord Keeper, who held it till the Year 1625. Lord *Clarendon* remarks, 'That, tho' 'a Man of great Wit, and good 'ſcholaſtick Learning, he was 'generally thought ſo very un-'equal to the Place, that his Re-'move was the only Recompence 'and Satisfaction that could be 'made for his Promotion.'

*November* the firſt, it was committed, with the Title of Lord Keeper, to Sir *Thomas Coventry*, who was created a Peer. Lord *Clarendon* gives us this Account of that great Man, 'Sir *Thomas Coventry* 'was Lord Keeper of the Great 'Seal, and newly made a Baron. 'He was a Son of the Robe, his 'Father having been a Judge of 'the Court of *Common Pleas*; 'who took Care to breed him, 'though his Firſt-born, to the 'Study of the Common Law, 'by which he himſelf had been 'promoted to that Degree; and 'in which, in the Society of the '*Inner Temple*, his Son made a 'notable Progreſs, by an ear-'ly Eminency in Practice and 'Learning; inſomuch that he was 'Recorder of *London*, Solliciter 'General, and King's Attorney, 'before he was forty Years of 'Age; 1625.

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" cellor of *England*, with all the Fiefs, Profits, Re-
" gards, Robes, Diets, Commodities and Advantages,
" due, belonging, or pertaining from antient Times
" to the ſaid Office.

" And the ſaid *Thomas More* received the ſaid Seal
" from the aforeſaid Lord the King, in the Preſence
" of the abovenamed, and on the next Day, *Tueſday*
" the 26th Day of the ſame Month of *October*, the
" aforeſaid Lord Chancellor, being inducted about ten
" of the Clock in the Forenoon of the ſame Day, into
" the

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

' Age; a rare Aſcent! All which
' Offices he diſcharged with great
' Abilities and ſingular Reputa-
' tion of Integrity. Lord *Co-*
' *ventry* diſcharged this Place
' with an univerſal Reputation,
' being a very wiſe and excellent
' Perſon, being generally eſteemed
' throughout the Kingdom; and
' ſure, Juſtice was never better
' adminiſtred for about the Space
' of 16 Years, even to his Death,
' ſome Months before he was
' ſixty Years of Age; which
' was another important Cir-
' cumſtance of his Felicity, that
' great Office being ſo ſlippery,
' that no Man had died in it
' before for the Space of forty
' Years.' From this great Man
the preſent Right Hon. *William*
Earl of *Coventry* is deſcended.

*January* the 23d, the
1639. Great Seal was delivered
to Sir *Thomas Finch*, Knt. Lord
Chief Juſtice of the *Common*
*Pleas*; 'A Man, ſays Lord *Cla-*
' *rendon*, exceedingly obnoxious
' to the People upon the Buſi-
' neſs of Ship-money, and not of
' Reputation and Authority e-
' nough to countenance and ad-
' vance the King's Service. Upon
' the Meeting of the Long Par-
' liament, in the Year 1540,
' finding he was likely to be
' accuſed of High Treaſon, he
' withdrew himſelf, and ſhortly
' after paſſed into *Holland*.'

*Jan.* the 23d it was de-
1640. livered to Sir *Edward Lit-*
*tleton*, Knt. Lord Chief Juſtice of
the *Common Pleas*, with the Title
of Lord Keeper, who held it to his
Death: But the fatal Civil Wars
breaking out, the Parliament ap-
pointed Commiſſioners thereof.

*Auguſt* the 30th, King
1645. *Charles* the Iſt committed
the Seal to the Care of Sir *Rich-*
*ard Lane*, Knt. Chief Baron of
the *Exchequer*, at *Oxford*, who
held it till his Death; and the
Account we have of him is,
' That he followed the Royal
' Cauſe, and aſſiſted in the De-
' fence at *Oxford*, when beſieg-
' ed by the Parliament's Army,
' under the Command of the
' Earl of *Fairfax*.'

King *Charles* the IId,
1653. in his Exile, intruſted it
with Sir *Edward Herbert*, it be-
ing delivered to him by his Ma-
jeſty

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" the Place and Seat of the Court of Chancery in the " Great Hall of the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, by the " moſt Serene Princes, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and " *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, and a great many other " Nobles and Chiefs of the Kingdom of *England*, at " the Command of the Lord the King: And, after a " noble Exhortation had on the Part of the Lord the " King by the aforeſaid Duke of *Norfolk*, as well to " the ſaid Lord *Chancellor* as to the People, and the " Anſwer thereunto made by the ſaid Lord Chan-

" cellor,



jeſty at *Paris*. This Gentleman was a near Relation of the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, (who wrote the Life of K. *Henry* the VIIIth,) which Title, though it had been ſome Years extinct, is now revived in the Perſon of the Right Hon. *Henry-Arthur Herbert*, Eſq; who was lately created Lord *Herbert*; and is a worthy Deſcendant of this antient Family.

1657. *January* the 13th, the King delivered the Great Seal to Sir *Edward Hyde*, Knt. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* to his Royal Father, who was honoured with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*, at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, the 24th of *Jan.* following, (and created Earl of *Clarendon*) who held it after the *Reſtoration* till the Year 1667; during whoſe Time the *Court of Wards*, *&c.* was ſuppreſſed by Act of Parliament, which brought a great deal of Buſineſs into this Court: But the Torrent of the Times run high againſt the Earl; for he was baniſhed by Act of Parliament, and died in Exile. By the Command of K. *Charles* the IId, he wrote that excellent Work, called, *The Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Character of this great Man, ſays, 'He was like to grow eminent 'in the Profeſſion of the Law 'when the Civil Wars begun, 'about which Time he went to 'his aged Father in *Wiltſhire*; 'who, one Day as they were 'walking together, told him, 'That Men of his Profeſſion did 'often ſtretch Laws and Preroga-'tive, to the Prejudice of the Li-'berty of the Subject, to recommend 'and advance themſelves; ſo 'charged him, That he ſhould 'never ſacrifice the Laws and 'Liberties of his Country to his 'own Intereſts, or to the Will of 'his Prince.' He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a Fit of the Apoplexy, of which he died in a few Hours. His Lordſhip was a good Chancellor; and very impartial in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. He would never make a Viſit to the King's Miſtreſs, nor ſuffer any thing to paſs the Seal in which ſhe was mentioned, and very often prevailed on the King to alter the Reſolutions he had taken in the

Cabal

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" cellor, he took his corporal Oath on the *Holy*
" *Evangeliſts.*
" And then and there, in the Preſence of the afore-
" ſaid Dukes, and likewiſe of *Thomas* Marquis of *Dor-*
" *ſet*, *Henry* Marquis of *Exeter*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*,
" *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *George* Earl of *Shrop-*
" *ſhire*, *Galfrid* Earl of *Weſtmoreland*, *John* Biſhop of
" *Lincoln*, *Cuthbert* Biſhop of *London*, *John* Biſhop
" of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Robert Ratcliff*, Knt. Viſcount
" *Fitz-Walter*; *Thomas Boleyn*, Knt. Viſcount *Roch-*
" *ford*;

## *from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

Cabal that had met at her Lodgings. This virtuous Miniſter thought it became him, that the World ſhould ſee, he did not always comply with the King in his Views. As many who had ſuffered in the King's Cauſe were diſappointed, in not having Places, they blamed the Earl, becauſe they were given to thoſe who were looked upon as not the King's Friends; to this the Earl ſaid, *Promiſes brought the King Home, and it was keeping them muſt keep him at Home.* It was alſo given out, *That he adviſed the King to gain his Enemies, ſince he was ſure of his Friends:* But Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, 'The Earl always denied it: 'But it was doubtful, after the 'King had diſgraced him, whether he did not faſten it on 'him, to make him more odious; for he ſaid many hard 'Things of him, for which he 'was much blamed in moſt of 'them, but little believed.' Thoſe who compoſed the Preface to his Lordſhip's Hiſtory of the *Grand Rebellion*, among ſeveral other Matters, ſays this of him: 'Whatever Misfortunes he might 'have in his Life, whatever E'nemies he might have had, or 'whatever Errors he might have 'committed (which few Men in 'his high Station eſcape quite 'clear of) we preſume to think, 'he deſerves from all impartial 'Men, the Praiſe of an honeſt, 'juſt, and able Servant to the 'Church and Crown, and to be 'ranked amongſt the great and 'good Miniſters of State.' From this noble Lord the preſent Right Hon. *Henry* Earl of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter* is deſcended.

*Auguſt* the 13th, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Knt. 1667. Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, received it with the Title of Lord Keeper. But, according to a learned Prelate, 'His 'Study and Practice lay ſo entirely in the Common Law, 'that he never ſeemed to apprehend what Equity was: Nor 'had he a Head more for Buſineſs than for ſuch a Court. He 'was a Man of great Integrity; 'he had very ſerious Impreſſions of Religion on his Mind; 'he had been always on the 'Side

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" *ford*; *William Sandys*, Knt. Lord of *Sandys*; and " of many others of the Lord the King's Council, " the ſaid Lord Chancellor had the ſaid Seal, kept " in the aforeſaid Box, under the Seals of the Lord the " King, Maſter *John Taylor* and *Stephen Gardiner*, " as aforeſaid, taken out, and ſeveral Briefs of Courſe " ſigned; and afterwards returned the Seal aforeſaid " into the ſaid Bag, which he had ſealed with his " own proper Signet; and retained it in his own " Cuſtody."

Be-



' Side of the Church, yet he had ' great Tenderneſs for the *Non-* ' *conformiſts*.'— See Bp. *Burnet*'s *Hiſt. of his own Times*. Vol. I.

1672. *Nov.* the 17th, the famous Earl of *Shaftſbury* received it, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. Several Authors ſay, that he was a good Chancellor, and his Abilities no Man yet called in Queſtion. The Speech he made to Mr. Serjeant *Thurland*, when he was made Baron of the *Exchequer*; fully ſhews how much he had the Tranquillity of the People at Heart. *Rawleigh Redivivus* ſays of him, ' And ' with what Prudence, Candour, ' Honour, and Integrity he ac- ' quitted himſelf in that great ' and weighty Employment, the ' Tranſactions of the Court of ' Chancery, during the Time of ' his Chancellorſhip, will beſt te- ' ſtify. Juſtice then run in an ' equal Channel; ſo that the ' Cauſe of the Rich was not ſuf- ' fered to ſwallow up the Right ' of the Poor; nor was the ſtrong ' or cunnig Oppoſition permitted ' to devour the weak or unſkil- ' ful Oppoſer; but the Abuſed ' found Relief ſuitable to their ' Diſtreſs, and thoſe by whom ' they were abuſed a ſevere Re- ' prehenſion to their Crimes. ' The miſchievous Conſequences, ' which commonly ariſe from ' the Delays and other Practices ' of that Court, were, by inge- ' nuous and judicious Manage- ' ment, very much abated, and ' every Thing weighed and de- ' termined with exact Judgment ' and Equity.' During the Time of his Chancellorſhip he maintained all Things ſuitable to the Greatneſs of his Place. The Manner of his Proceeding on the firſt Day of each Term to *Weſtminſter* was agreeable to the antient and laudable Cuſtom, all the Officers of the Court, the Judges, Mr. Attorney and Sollicitor General, *&c.* going before him according to their ſeveral Degrees, which is ſtill followed. From this great Man the preſent Right. Hon. *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftſbury* is deſcended.

*Nov.* the 9th, Sir *Heneage Finch*, Knt. received the Seal with the Title of 1673. *Lord*

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Before the Cardinal left his Palace he gave his Servants a ſtrict Charge of all the Jewels, Plate, and other Things of Value, which his Maſter was now to have.

*The Cardinal ordered to retire to* Eſher.

At this Time Sir *William Gaſcoigne*, his Treaſurer, relates to him the Rumour that was Abroad, concerning his Commitment to the *Tower*. The Relation of this Report he not only took unkindly, but reprimanded Sir *William* ſeverely for his Credulity, ſaying, *As my Honour, Riches*, &c. *I received from the King*;

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

Lord Keeper, who was ſome time after created Earl of *Nottingham*, and made Lord High Chancellor. During all the Time he preſided in this Court he made a very great Figure, and died poſſeſſed of this high Office; of whom this is related, 'He behaved in the moſt tickliſh Times with ſo regular and 'even a Conduct, that he was 'ſcarce ever taxed, either as a 'Stateſman or Chancellor, with 'Partiality, and was ſo excellent 'and eloquent an Orator, that 'ſome have ſtiled him the *Engliſh Cicero*, &c.' Part of the Inſcription on his Monument tells us, 'He was a Perſon of extraordinary natural Endowments, and 'for manly and unaffected Eloquence, univerſal Learning, incorrupted Juſtice, indefatigable 'Diligence, moſt exemplary Piety, large and diffuſive Charity, 'not unequal to any that have 'gone before him, and an eminent Example to Poſterity; in 'whom were all the Virtues that 'make a great and good Man 'conſpicuous, without the Bleminſh of any Vice.' Then it enumerates the Poſts he had held, and concludes thus: 'Nine Years 'he ſerved the King in the Station of Chancellor with great 'Wiſdom, Honour, Uprightneſs, 'and Ability, treating all Men 'with Meekneſs and Affability, 'and always moſt ready and 'willing to forgive Injuries, even 'when he had moſt Power to revenge them, valuing Greatneſs as only miniſtring to him 'a greater Opportunity of doing 'good.' Add to this, from Mr. *Dryden*'s *Abſalom* and *Achitophel.*

*Our Liſts of Nobles next let* AMRI * *Grace,*
*Whoſe Merit claims the* Abethdin's *High Place;*
*Who, with a Loyalty that did excel,*
*Brought all the Endowments of* Achitophel.
*Sincere was* AMRI, *and not only knew,*
*But* Iſrael's *Sanction into Practice drew.*



* The Chancellor.

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*King; ſo, if it is his Pleaſure, I freely return them.* He then took Boat at the private Stairs of his Palace, having with him moſt of his Servants, with ſome Furniture and Proviſions, and directed his Courſe towards *Putney*. Upon this Occaſion the *Thames* was crouded with Spectators on both Sides, and a vaſt Number of Boats appeared on the River in hopes of ſeeing the Cardinal carried to the *Tower*, and it is almoſt incredible what Joy the common People expreſſed. "The giddy Mob, ſays "the

## *MEMOIRS of the* LORD CHANCELLORS, *&c.*

*Our Laws, that did a boundleſs Ocean ſeem,*
*Were coaſted all, and fathom'd all by him.*
*No Rabin ſpeaks like him their myſtick Senſe*
*So juſt, and with ſuch Charms of Eloquence;*
*To whom the double Bleſſing does belong,*
*With* MOSES' *Inſpiration,* AARON's *Tongue.*

From this great Man the preſent Right Hon. *Daniel*, Earl of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, is deſcended.

*Dec.* the 13th, the 1682. King was pleaſed to put the Seal into the Hands of Sir *Francis North*, Knt. with the Title of Lord Keeper, and ſoon after he was created Baron *Guilford*, and held the Seal till his Death, *Sept.* 26, 1683. — 'He was 'a ſingular great and good Man, 'ever active in the Service of his 'Country, in which his Conduct 'and Behaviour were not to be 'blamed, and his Character in ge'neral without Exception; not'withſtanding ſome, either thro' 'Ignorance or Party Rage, might 'think otherwiſe. In a Word, 'he was the beſt of Brothers, and 'the beſt of Friends.' (See *Dedication to his Life*, lately publiſhed by *Montague North*, Eſq;) From this great Man is deſcended the preſent Right Hon. *Francis North* Lord *Guilford*, &c.

*Octob.* the 28th, King 1685. *James* the IId committed the Cuſtody thereof to that very extraordinary Nobleman *George* Lord *Jeffrey's*, (whoſe Hiſtory is very well known) who held it to the Time of the *Revolution*, when he was committed to the *Tower*, where he ſoon after died. However, this is ſaid of him, 'That 'he had a very piercing Eye, was 'a good Chancellor, and few 'or none of his Decrees were 'reverſed.'

And then Sir *John Maynard*, *Anth. Kecke*, Eſq; and 1688. Mr. Serjeant *Rawlinſon* were appointed Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; and, as they were the firſt Commiſſioners that exerciſed any Acts of Judicature, as Lords Commiſſioners in the Chancery,

(ex-

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" the Writer of the *Church Hiſtory*, being always " well pleaſed when they ſee Authority under Op- " preſſion: For, let Miniſters be never ſo juſt, in " the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, there is " conſtantly a Party labouring under Diſappointments, " who make it their Buſineſs to influence the Com- " mon People againſt the Power that governs."

The Cardinal, being landed at *Putney*, immediately mounted his Mule, his Servants and Attendants being on Horſeback; but he was ſcarce got to the Foot of the

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

(except thoſe who tranſacted in the Time of the *Uſurpation*) a Doubt aroſe, *Whether their Authority extended, in their judicial Capacity, as far as that of the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper?* To fix this Point an Act paſſed, 1 *Will.* and *Mary*, wherein it was declared, 'That the Lords Com- 'miſſioners, for the keeping of 'the Great Seal, ſhould execute 'their Office with the ſame Au- 'thority as the Lord Chancellor, 'or Lord Keeper.' So that by this, and the Act paſſed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, before mentioned, thoſe three Offices, which were looked upon by ſome not to have equal Authority, in reſpect to the exerciſing the judicial Power in Chancery, were ſettled and explained.

Sir *John Maynard* was a Gentleman of ſo great Knowledge in the Laws, that he was eſteemed as one of the chief Directors of the long Robe. By his great Practice, for many Years together, he acquired a very plentiful Eſtate, and, being a Member of the Convention Parliament in 1688, he was a great Promoter of the *Revolution*, and was the Gentleman, when a proper Word was wanting to expreſs the Vacancy of the Throne, who thought of *Abdication*, which was afterwards made uſe of.

In *June* Sir *John Trevor*, Sir *William Rawlinſon*, and Sir *George Hutching*, Knts. were appointed Lords Commiſſioners. 1690.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, 'That Sir *John Trevor* was Speaker of 'the Houſe of Commons, a 'bold and dextrous Man, and 'knew the moſt effectual Ways 'of recommending himſelf to 'every Government. He had 'been in great Favour in King '*James*'s Time, and was made 'Maſter of the Rolls by him; 'and, if Lord *Jeffreys* had ſtuck 'at any thing, he was looked 'on as the Man likelieſt to 'have had the Great Seal. He 'now got himſelf to be choſen 'Speaker, and was made firſt 'Commiſſioner of the Great Seal. 'Being a *Tory* in Principle, he 'undertook to manage that 'Party, provided he was fur- 'niſhed with ſuch Sums of 'Money as might purchaſe



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the Hill, on the other Side *Putney*, when he was overtaken by Sir *John Norris*, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-chamber, who dismounted his Horse, saluted his Eminence in his Majesty's Name, and addressed himself upon his Knees as follows, "That he was sent Express to assure him, that he "was as much in the King's Favour as ever: That "this Disgrace was only to serve a Turn, and please "some sort of People; bidding him be of good Cou-"rage,

*On his Way receives a comfortable Message from the King.*



'some Votes: And by him be-'gan the Practice of *buying of* 'Men, in which hitherto the 'King had kept to stricter Rules. 'I took the Liberty once to 'complain to the King of this 'Method.—He said, *He hated it* 'as much as any Man could do: 'But he saw it was not possible, 'considering the Corruption of the 'Age, to avoid it, unless he would 'endanger the whole." However, such was the Fate that attended Sir *John*, that he was expelled the House for *Corruption*, tho' he continued Master of the Rolls till his Death. These Commissioners held the Seal until

1693. *March*, when it was committed to the Care of the great Sir *John Somers*, Knt, with the Title of Lord Keeper, who was afterwards created Lord *Somers*, and declared Lord Chancellor; of whom the very ingenious Mr. *Addison*, in a Paper called the *Freeholders*, gives us this Character. 'That unwearied Di-'ligence, which followed him 'through all the Stages of his 'Life, gave him such a thorough 'Insight into the Laws of the 'Land, that he passed for one 'of the greatest Masters of his 'Profession, at his first Appear-'ance in it. Though he made 'a regular Progress through the 'several Honours of the Long 'Robe, he was always looked 'upon as one who deserved a 'superior Station to that he 'was possessed of, till he ar-'rived at the highest Dignity 'to which those Studies could 'advance him. He enjoyed, 'in the highest Perfection, two 'Talents, which do not often 'meet in the same Person, the 'greatest Strength of good Sense, 'and the most exquisite Taste 'of Politeness; without the first 'Learning is but an Incum-'brance, and without the last 'is ungrateful. My Lord *So-'mers* was Master of these two 'Qualifications in so eminent 'a Degree, that all the Parts 'of Knowledge appeared in 'him with such an additional 'Strength and Beauty, as they 'want in the Possession of others. 'If he delivered his Opinion of 'a Piece of Poetry, a Statue, 'or a Picture, there was some-'thing so just and delicate in 'his Observations, as naturally 'pre-

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" rage, for, as his Majeſty was able, ſo he was will-
" ing, to make good all his Loſſes." The Cardinal, being ſurprized at this joyful News, directly got off his Mule, and, falling alſo upon his Knees in the Highway, gave Thanks firſt to God, and next to the King, in Words that were ſcarce to be expreſſed in the Manner they were uttered; then, taking off his Hat, made freſh Proteſtations of Gratitude to his Sovereign: After which, both ariſing, they mounted and rode towards *Eſher*. As they converſed

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

' produced Pleaſure and Aſſent
' in thoſe who heard him. His
' Solidity and Elegance, im-
' proved by the Reading of the
' fineſt Authors, both of the
' learned and modern Lan-
' guages, diſcovered themſelves
' in all his Productions. His Ora-
' tory was maſculine and per-
' ſuaſive, free from every thing
' trivial and affected: His Stile
' in Writing was chaſte and pure,
' but at the ſame time full of
' Spirit and Politeneſs, and fit
' to convey the moſt intricate
' Buſineſs to the Underſtanding
' of the Reader, with the utmoſt
' Clearneſs and Perſpicuity. And
' here it is to be lamented, that
' this extraordinary Perſon, out
' of his natural Averſion to vain
' Glory, wrote ſeveral Pieces,
' as well as performed ſeveral
' Actions, which he did not aſ-
' ſume the Honour of; though
' at the ſame time ſo many
' Works of this Nature have
' appeared, which every one has
' aſcribed to him, that I be-
' lieve no Author of the greateſt
' Eminence would deny my
' Lord *Somers* to have been the
' beſt Writer of the Age in which
' he lived. This noble Lord,
' for the great Extent of his
' Knowledge and Capacity, has
' been often compared with the
' Lord *Verulam*, who had alſo
' been Chancellor of *England*.
' But the Conduct of theſe two
' extraordinary Perſons, under
' the ſame Circumſtances, was
' vaſtly different. They were
' both impeached by a Houſe
' of Commons: One of them,
' as he had given juſt Occaſion
' for it, ſunk under it, and was
' reduced to ſuch an abject Sub-
' miſſion, as very much dimi-
' niſhed the Luſtre of ſo exalted
' a Character. But my Lord
' *Somers* was too well ſatisfied
' in his Integrity, to fear the
' Impotence of an Attempt up-
' on his Reputation; and, tho'
' his Accuſers would gladly have
' dropped their Impeachment,
' he was inſtant with them for
' the Proſecution of it, and
' would not let that Matter reſt
' till it was brought to an Iſſue:
' For the ſame Virtue and
' Greatneſs of Mind, which
' gave him a Diſregard of *Fame*,
' made

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verſed on the Way, Mr. *Norris* pulled out a Gold Ring ſet with a very rich Stone, which he preſented to the Cardinal in the King's Name, in Token of his recovered Friendſhip. This *Wolſey* might eaſily take as a ſtrong Confirmation that the King's Diſpleaſure was not real, but only aſſumed; for he well knew the Ring, it being one of thoſe Tokens uſually ſent him, when his Majeſty deſired any thing ſhould be done



'made him impatient of an undeſerved Reproach."

This Year Sir *Nathan.* 1700. *Wright* was appointed Lord Keeper. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, 'It was *Term-time* (when Lord *Somers* was removed) ſo a Vacancy in that Poſt putting Things in ſome Confuſion, a temporary Commiſſion was granted to the three Chief Judges, to judge in the Court of *Chancery*; and after a few Days the Seals were given to Sir *Nathan Wright*, in whom there was nothing equal to the Poſt, much leſs to him who had lately filled it. — *Wright* was a Zealot to his Party, [*Tories*] and was become very exceptionable in all reſpects. Money, as was ſaid, did every thing with him; only in this Court, I never heard him charged for any thing but great Slowneſs, by which the *Chancery* was become one of the heavieſt Grievances of the Nation.'

In 1705 *Wright* was diſmiſſed from his Poſt of Lord Keeper. Upon this the Biſhop concludes his Account of him thus. — '*Wright* was fallen under a high Degree of Contempt with all Sides; even the *Tories*, though he was wholly theirs, deſpiſing him: He was ſordidly covetous, and did not at all live ſuitable to that high Poſt.' — We cannot help ſaying, we think the Biſhop has been full free with Sir *Nathan*'s Character.

The latter End of *Oct.* 1705, *William Cowper*, Eſq; ſucceeded him; who, the Beginning of *May*, 1707, was created a Peer, and declared the firſt Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain* upon the *Union* of the two Kingdoms.

*Oct.* the 19th, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Knt. was 1711. conſtituted Lord Keeper; and ſome Months after was made Chancellor, and created a Peer by the Title of Lord *Harcourt*.

The Character given of him by the late Queen, in the Introduction to the Patent for creating him a Peer, is this, 'There is nothing in which we more willingly exerciſe that Royal Authority, which God has entruſted us with, than by rewarding

done with ſingular Care and Expedition. The Cardinal therefore, as he was conſidering what Return he ſhould make Sir *John*, the Meſſenger of ſo much good News, excuſed himſelf upon Account of his preſent Condition; but, taking a Gold Croſs from about his Neck, in which a Piece of the Holy Croſs (as it was ſaid) was incloſed, he beſtowed it on him as a perpetual Remembrance of his Service. Then, bethink-

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

warding true Merit and Virtue, and advancing to all ſuitable Dignity Men who have merited well of us, and whoſe Anceſtors have been remarkably famous in their Generation: Among thoſe, none is more conſpicuous than our well-beloved and very faithful Counſellor, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Knt. Keeper of our Great Seal; a Gentleman recommended to us by a long Deſcent of Progenitors of very ample Fortunes, and renowned for their warlike Actions ever ſince the *Norman* Times; one of whom, for his Bravery ſignalized under the Standard of *Edward* the IVth, was made Knight of the Garter: Another, fighting couragiouſly againſt the *Iriſh* Rebels, in the Cauſe of his royal Maſter, King *Charles* the Iſt, the beſt of Princes, was the firſt *Engliſhman* that fell a Sacrifice to their Fury. Nor is there one of all that Race, deſcended from ſuch noble Anceſtors, who has not been eminent for his Love to his Country, and Loyalty to his Prince. He ſuffered, indeed, in his paternal Inheritance, which was diminiſhed by the Fury of the Civil Wars, but not in his Glory, which, being acquired by military Valour, he, as a Lawyer, has advanced by the Force of his Wit and Eloquence; For we have underſtood, that his Faculty in Speaking is ſo full of Variety, that many doubt whether he is fitter to manage Cauſes in the lower Court, or to ſpeak before a full Parliament; but it is unanimouſly confeſſed by all, *That among the Lawyers he is the moſt eloquent Orator, and among the Orators the moſt able Lawyer.* To this Praiſe of his Eloquence he has added thoſe domeſtick Virtues, *Magnanimity* and *Fidelity*, ſupported by which he has reſolutely perſevered in maintaining the Cauſe he had undertaken, and in deſpiſing Danger; and has kept the Engagement of Friendſhip, whether in *Proſperity* or *Adverſity*, *ſacred* and *inviolable.* Whom therefore, furniſhed with ſuch great Endowments of Mind, and all Clients having wiſhed for to defend their Cauſes, not without Reaſon, We preferred to be one of

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bethinking himſelf of what would be acceptable to the King, he ſent him his Fool, *Patch*, whom ſix of his talleſt Yeomen were ſcarce able to conduct, ſo great a Reluctance he had to part with his old Maſter; but with this Preſent the King appeared very much pleaſed. We



'our Counſel at Law, whom 'we a ſecond time called to be 'our Attorney General, which 'Office he had once before ſuſ-'tained with Honour, as far as 'it was thought convenient; 'whom laſtly, ſince we perceiv-'ed all thoſe Things were in-'ferior to the Largeneſs of his 'Capacity, we have advanced 'to the higheſt Pitch of *Foren-'ſical* Dignity, and made him 'ſupreme Judge in our Court of 'Equity, where he ſtill conti-'nues to deſerve higher of us, 'and of all good Men; and is 'ſo much a brighter Ornament 'to his Province, as it is more 'honourable than the reſt he has 'gone through. He daily diſ-'patches the Multitude of Suits 'in *Chancery*, he removes the 'Obſtacles which delay Judg-'ment in that Court, and takes 'ſpecial Care that the ſucceſsful 'Iſſue of an honeſt Cauſe ſhould 'coſt every Plaintiff as little as 'may be; which Things, as 'they are very grateful to us, 'honourable to himſelf, and 'beneficial to the Common-'wealth, we think deſerving of 'higher Reward. Therefore, '*&c.*' But, upon the Acceſſion of King *George* the Iſt, his Lord-ſhip was removed from his high Station.—See ſome Account of his Lordſhip's Family, Vol. II. p. 283.

Whereupon the Lord *Cowper* was a ſecond time appointed Lord High Chancellor, (and was the only Chancellor that held the Seal twice) who was created Earl *Cowper*. 1714.

This is his Character from Mr. *Collins*. 'In all his Stations he act-'ed with ſtrict Integrity; and it 'is to his great Honour that he 'refuſed the *New-years-gifts*, '(which former Lord *Chancel-'lors* received from the *Council*) 'thinking it an ill *Precedent*, 'tending to Corruption. He 'had a graceful Perſon and win-'ning Aſpect; and all his 'Speeches were delivered with 'that Eloquence, learning and 'Judgment, as made him uni-'verſally applauded, and ſhewed 'he had no Superior in the Know-'ledge of the Law, or any other 'Subject he applied himſelf to.'

His Lordſhip died in *Hert-fordſhire*, on the 13th of *Oct.* 1723, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *William*, now Earl *Cowper*, who married on the 27th of *June*, 1732, the Lady *Henrietta*, youngeſt Daughter of the Right Hon. *Henry* the preſent Earl of *Grantham*, by whom he hath Iſſue one Son and a Daughter.

*May* the 12th, the Lord *Parker* was declared Lord Chancellor, and was ſoon after created 1718.

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We see no great Matter in Dr. *Fiddes*'s long suppositious Disquisition on the Cardinal's kneeling in the Dirt, *&c.* (See p. 472, in his *Life of the Cardinal)* no more than in Mr. *Salmon*'s Observations on the Doctor, in his *History* of *Henry* the VIIIth. Though we cannot suppose he was really in

*Some Reflections thereon.*



created Earl of *Macclesfield*; being allowed by all a Nobleman of great Abilities. Whilst his Lordship presided in this Court it was discovered that much of the Suitors Money was misapplied, insomuch that some of the Officers, as it afterwards appeared, were unable to make good the Sums committed to their Trust by the Court; *though often brought there, not by the Choice of the Parties concerned, but by the Compulsion of the Court, under the Pretext of better Security.* † This drew on an Inquiry first before the King and Council, next in the Honourable House of Commons, which produced an Impeachment against the noble Earl; and, to encourage such of the *Masters in Chancery*, who had purchased ‡ their Offices, to make a Discovery touching what they had paid for the same, an Act passed to indemnify them from the Forfeitures incurred by the Statute made in *Edward* the VIth's Time. In short, the Earl was tried at the Bar of the House of Lords, upon the Impeachment, found guilty, and fined 30,000 *l.* which he paid; and the Money, by his late Majesty K. *George* the Ist's Direction, was applied towards making good the Deficiency occasioned by the Officers Insolvency. However, we cannot omit here to give Mr. *Collins*'s Character of his Lordship; 'The Earl, as a Husband, a Parent, and a Master, 'was truly beloved by every one 'who stood in those Relations to-'wards him. His Speeches on 'publick Affairs, and in his ju-'dicial Capacity, shewed both 'his Learning and Eloquence, '*and he favoured all Designs tend-*'*ing to the Advancement of Learn-*'*ing.* No Man served his Friends 'more readily, and chearfully; 'and they found in him a most 'agreeable, innocent, and in-'structive Companion. He was 'a sincere and faithful Member 'of the Church of *England*, con-'stantly frequenting its Assem-'blies, and joining in all its Of-'fices with a just Sense of Reli-'gion, and an exemplary Piety. 'To those Supports it was owing, 'that, when he apprehended the 'Ap-

† See the Speech of the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; on the Trial of the Earl of *Macclesfield*.

‡ See the said Trial.



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in the Dirt, or on his Knees, ſcarce two Minutes, what a Pother have Biſhop *Burnet*, *Rapin*, and others, made about it, and at laſt ſettled nothing. And ſuppoſe



' Approach of Death, he pre-
' pared himſelf for it with as
' much Calmneſs and Compo-
' ſure as for a Journey: And,
' having received the holy Com-
' munion, in the Company of his
' Relations, Friends, and Ser-
' vants, he took his laſt Farewel
' of them ſerious and unmoved;
' ſetting them a Pattern of dying,
' as he had always done of liv-
' ing, like a true *Chriſtian*.' Upon his Lordſhip's Death he was ſucceeded in Honour and Eſtate by his Son the preſent Right Hon. *George* Earl of *Macclesfield*.

Upon the E. of *Macclesfield*'s reſigning the Great Seal it was, in *Jan.* committed to the Care of Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. Juſtice *Raymond*, and Mr. Baron *Gilbert*, with the Title of Lords Commiſſioners. Their Lordſhips, as was conſiſtent to the great Truſt, immediately ſet about reforming the Abuſes that had crept into this Court, and the Maſters in Chancery chearfully aſſiſted their Lordſhips in this uſeful Work, and readily obeyed ſuch Orders as were thought requiſite for the better ſecuring the Suitors Money and Effects, particularly one, bearing Date the 26th of *May*, 1725, whereby their Lordſhips ordered, 'That
' all the Moneys, Securities, *&c.*
' belonging to the Suitors of the
' Court, in the Hands of the
' Maſters, ſhould be carried into
' the *Bank*; and that the Ma-
' ſters ſhould forthwith paſs and
' ſettle their Accounts.' Whereby it ſoon appeared, if ſome further Proviſion was not made, for the Relief of the Suitors, beſides the 30,000*l.* paid by the Earl of *Macclesfield*, many of them would be greatly reduced, who were Widows and Orphans, and in ſome Caſes their All depending; which might bring the Dignity of the Court into Diſeſteem, if not a a Reproach on the Conſtitution. This put the Parliament upon taking the Matter into their ſerious Conſideration, which had this Iſſue, an Act paſſed, 12 *George* I. entitled, *An Act for the Relief of the Suitors of the Court of Chancery.*

1725. *June* the 21ſt, the Great Seal was committed to Lord Chief Juſtice *King*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor; who, on the 4th of *Nov.* made an Order greatly for the Benefit of the Suitors of the Court, and ſoon afterwards an Act paſſed, 12 *Geo.* I. entitled, *An Act for the better ſecuring the Monys and Effects of the Suitors of the Court of Chancery*; wherein the Order made by his Lordſhip was *verbatim* ſet forth and confirmed.

The Proviſions which the Parliament made for the Relief of the unhappy Suitors were ſuch as intirely anſwered the End propoſed, and gave univerſal Content to the Nation in general; and for their further Eaſe an Act lately

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pose it were determinable, which we do not see it is, whether he was religiously respectful to the King as the Lord's Anointed, or fond of being again carressed

*from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

lately passed, to exempt the Suitors from paying the Accomptant General Fees on his Reports, for bringing their Moneys, *&c.* into the *Bank*, or receiving them therefrom, pursuant to such Orders as the Court should make from time to time.

During the Time his Lordship presided in this Court a Dispute arose, *Whether the* Master of the Rolls *had a Judicial Authority to hear Causes in the Absence of the Lord Chancellor, without a Commission?* —This Matter was introduced to the Publick in a Book printed in *Trinity* Term, 1726, under the Title of *The History of the Chancery*, wherein the Author asserts, 'That his *Honour* 'could not hear Causes in Court 'without a Delagation from the 'Chancellor, unless by Commission. An Answer to this was 'published, entitled, *A Discourse* 'of the Judicial Authority belong-'ing to the Office of the Master of 'the Rolls; wherein the Author affirms, 'That the *Master of the* 'Rolls could hear Causes, and 'make Orders in Chancery, by 'Virtue of his Office, without 'any special Commission:' And, in Support of his Argument, sets forth many Cases. This produced another Piece by way of Reply, said to be wrote by one of the Masters of the Court, entitled, *The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated*; and herein the Gentleman, among other Matters, endeavours to prove, 'That 'the *Master of the Rolls* was no 'Judge, either in Law or Equity; but what Judicial Power 'he could lawfully exercise was 'by being one of the XII Masters of Chancery, or by Virtue of the King's Commission.' —The Controversy being drawn to this Length, in order to prevent any Inconvenience to the Publick, an Act passed, 3 *George* II. entitled, *An Act to put an end to certain Disputes, touching Orders and Decrees made in the Court of Chancery*, in which was recited, 'That whereas divers Questions 'and Disputes had arisen, touching the Authority of the *Master* 'of the Rolls in the High Court 'of Chancery, for putting an 'end to all Disputes concerning 'the same, it was enacted, That 'all Orders and Decrees made 'by the then present *Master of the* 'Rolls, or any of his Predecessors, or any thereafter to be 'made by the said *Master of the* 'Rolls, or any of his Successors, '(except such Orders and Decrees 'as should be made only by the 'Lord Chancellor, *&c.*) shall 'be deemed and taken to be valid Orders by the said Court, 'subject nevertheless to be discharged, revoked, or altered 'by the Lord Chancellor, *&c.* 'And that no such Order or Decree should be inrolled, till the 'same be first signed by the Lord 'Chancellor, *&c.*'



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reſſed by his ungrateful Maſter, or rejoiced with the Thoughts of his Troubles being at an End, what great Perſonage is there that may not eaſily drop into the

## *MEMOIRS of the* LORD CHANCELLORS, *&c.*

Lord *King* held the Seal until the Year 1733, and died the 22d of *July*, 1734. The Inſcription on the Monument erected to his Memory relates theſe further Particulars of his Lordſhip.

*He was born in the City of* Exeter *of worthy and ſubſtantial Parents:*
*But with a Genius greatly ſuperior to his Birth.*
*By his Induſtry, Prudence, Learning, and Virtue,*
*He raiſed himſelf to the higheſt Character and Reputation,*
*And to the higheſt Poſts and Dignities.*
*He applied himſelf to his Studies in the* Inner TEMPLE;
*And, to an exact and compleat Knowledge in all the Parts and Hiſtory*
*Of the Law,*
*Added the moſt extenſive Learning, Theological and Civil.*
*He was choſen a Member of the Houſe of Commons in the Year* 1699;
*Recorder of the City of* London, *in the Year* 1708;
*Made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas,* 1714;
*On the Acceſſion of King* GEORGE I.
*Created Lord* KING, *Baron of* OCKHAM;
*And raiſed to the Poſt and Dignity of Lord High Chancellor of*
GREAT BRITAIN, 1725.
*Under the Labour and Fatigues of which weighty Place,*
*Sinking under a paralytick Diſeaſe, he reſigned it,* Nov. 29*th*, 1733.
*And died,* July 22, 1734, *Aged* 65.
A FRIEND TO TRUE RELIGION AND LIBERTY.

He was ſucceeded in his Honour and Eſtate by the preſent Right Hon. *John* Lord *King*, his eldeſt Son.

*Nov.* the 29th, the Seal 1733. was delivered to the great Ld. *Talbot*, with the Title of Lord Chancellor. During his Time two different Pieces, beſides thoſe we have mentioned, were publiſhed, relating to the Original of this Court; the one in the Year 1735, entitled, *An Hiſtorical Eſſay of the Juriſdiction of the Court of* Chancery, *with ſome Incidents of the other Courts*; the other, *The Juriſdiction of the* Chancery, *as a Court of* Equity, *reſearched.* The laſt Author, after he has ſpoke of the Original of the Court, and the Acts of Parliament, as he thinks, that eſtabliſhed it, ſays, 'It may 'be aſſured and concluded, that 'the Root and Original Autho-'rity of the *Chancery*, as a Court 'of *Equity*, is not occult; nor, 'like the Head of the *Nile*, un-'diſcoverable; nor is founded on 'any antient Preſcription Time 'out of Mind uſed; nor upon 'any

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the like Extaſy on experiencing ſuch a Turn of Fortune as he had done. Why may not the Reader judge for himſelf after the Facts are fairly related, without ſo much Preaching about them? But,

## *from* CARDINAL WOLSEY's *Time.*

'any unwritten Law or Cuſtom, 'but on Acts of Parliament.'

Lord *Talbot* held the Great Seal to his Death, whoſe Character we cannot better ſum up than in Mr. *Collins*'s Words, in his *Britiſh Peerage*: 'In his 'judicial Capacity he ſhewed his 'great Learning and Knowledge 'of the Law, with an unbiaſſed 'Integrity; and none in his Station was ever more eſteemed 'whilſt living, or died more univerſally lamented. He behaved 'with the greateſt Honour in 'every Act of Life, being Maſter of all thoſe Virtues that 'make a great and good Man 'conſpicuous.' His Lordſhip's Dignity and Eſtate deſcended to the Right Hon. *William Talbot*, his ſecond Son.

1736. Upon the 21ſt of *Feb.* his Lordſhip was ſucceeded by the preſent Right Hon. *Philip* Lord *Hardwicke*, with the like Title of *Lord High Chancellor*, who has particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf *in ſupporting the Liberty of the Preſs, by protecting the legal Right to Copies.* A recent Inſtance we have of his Lordſhip's (together with the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Right Honourable *William Forteſcue*, Eſq; *Maſter of the Rolls*, and the reſt of the Hon. Commiſſioners appointed for that Purpoſe) well governing the Court of *Chancery*, and their tender Regard to the Rights of the Suitors thereof, by the printed Orders and Tables of Fees, throughout the reſpective Offices, publiſhed in *January* 1743.

To conclude, it is evident, that Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Conduct and Behaviour in the high Office of Lord Chancellor, were the Cauſe of greatly raiſing the Reputation of the *Chancery*; and that by the Legiſlature's interpoſing, and the good Orders and Regulations made of late Years in the Proceedings of this Court, for the Eaſe of the Suitors, are ſuch, that the Properties lodged therein were never ſo well ſecured and taken care of ſince Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Time: And the whole Nation cannot but acknowledge, that we are much indebted to the late and preſent Chancellor for ſeveral of the Benefits now enjoyed, whoſe great Abilities and faithful Diſcharge of this important Truſt, as Keepers of the King's Conſcience, will be the Means, we make no doubt, of tranſfering their Names to Poſterity with the higheſt Regard.

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*Arrives at Eſher.* But, after all theſe great Promiſes from the King, it appears that his Majeſty meant nothing by them; for we find the Cardinal was no ſooner retreated to *Eſher*, but he was intirely neglected, nothing being thought of but how to carry on Proſecutions againſt him in the moſt effectual Manner, which were begun by Mr. *Hales*, Attorney General, before the Cardinal left *York-place*. This Lawyer drew up an Information againſt him on the Statute of Premunire, for holding his Legatine Court by Vritue of the Pope's Authority, and deciding Cauſes there, which ought to have been determined in the King's Court. Beſides this Information Mr. Attorney afterwards drew up and preferred another againſt

Here we ſhall give the Reader a Liſt of their Honours the *Maſters of the Rolls*, and the other *Maſters* in *Chancery*, from the *Reſtoration* of King *Charles* the IId to this Time, with the Times of their Admiſſions, as they fell in Succeſſion to their reſpective Office.

MASTERS of the ROLLS.

*Firſt Office.*

1660, *June* 1, Sir *J. Colepepper.*
*Nov.* 3, Sir *H. Grimſton.*
1684, *June*, Sir *J. Churchill.*
1685, *Oct.* 20, Sir *John Trevor.*
1688, *March* 13, *H. Powle*, Eſq.
1692, *Jan.* 13, Sir *John Trevor.*
1717, *July* 13, Sir *J. Jekyll.*
1738, *Oct. John Verney*, Eſq.
1741, *Oct. W. Forteſcue*, Eſq.

MASTERS in CHANCERY.

*Second Office.*

1660, *June* 2, Sir *Thomas Bird.*
1665, *Jan.* 26, Sir *Wil. Liſle.*
*Nov.* 15, *R. Procter*, Eſq.
1669, *Nov. John Halſey*, Eſq.
1670, *July*, Dr. *Tim. Baldwyn.*
1682, *Apr.* 16, *Rob. Legard*, Eſq.
1712, *Oct.* 17, *Rob. Holford*, Eſq.

*Third Office.*

1660, *June* 4, Sir *Nath. Hobart.*
1673, *Jan.* 7, *Miles Cook*, Eſq.
1693, *Feb.* Dr. *Hen. Newton.*
1701, *Feb.* 21, *Wil. Rogers*, Eſq.
1721, *Aug.* 9, *Wil. Kinaſton*, Eſq.

*Fourth Office.*

1660, *June*, Sir *Moſes Bramſton.*
1675, *Feb.* 7, Sir *John Hoſkins.*
1703, *July* 22, *John Hiccocks*, Eſq.
1723, *June* 3, *Tho. Bennet*, Eſq.

*Fifth Office.*

1660, *June* 4, Sir *Will. Glaſcock.*
1675, *July* 7, *John Franklin*, Eſq.
1707, *Aug.* 22, *Will. Fellows*, Eſq.
1723, *Feb.* 1, *Fran. Eld*, Eſq.

*Sixth Office.*

1660, *June* 1, Sir *Juſt. Lewin.*
1672,

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againſt him, for the like Offences, within two Days after the Cardinal had reſigned the Great Seal.

And this Information ſets forth, "That "*Thomas, Legate de Latere*, Cardinal, "and Archbiſhop of *York*, being not "ignorant of the Premiſes, had obtained certain "Bulls from *Clement* the VIIth, by Virtue of which "he exerciſed Juriſdiction and Authority *Legatine*, to "the Depravation of the King's Power eſtabliſhed in "his Courts of Juſtice; which ſaid Bulls he cauſed to "be publickly read in *Weſtminſter*, aſſuming to himſelf thereupon the Dignity and Juriſdiction of *Legate de Latere*, which he has exerciſed to this Day; "to *The Information againſt him.*

1672, *Jan*, Dr. *Edw. Lowe.*
1684, *May* 31, Dr. *J. Ediſbury.*
1708, *March*, *J. Mellor*, Eſq.
1720, *July* 29, *John Borrett*, Eſq.
1724, *Auguſt*, *M. Thurſton*, Eſq.

*Seventh Office.*

1660, *June* 4, Sir *Tho. Bennet.*
1670, *July*, *Rob. Stewart*, Eſq.
1672, *July*, Dr. *Will. Howell.*
—— *Jan. W. Pagiter*, Eſq.
—— *Febr. Sam. Clerke*, Eſq.
1688, *May* 26, *R. Meredith*, Eſq.
1700, *July*, *Tho. Gery*, Eſq.
1719, *Oct.* 14, *Rich. Godfrey*, Eſq.
1726, *Feb. Sam. Burroughs*, Eſq.

*Eighth Office.*

1660, *June* 1, Sir *Will. Childe.*
1673, *June*, Sir *L. W. Childe.*
1710, *July* 24, *J. Orlebar*, Eſq.
1720, *Jan.* 10, *E Conway*, Eſq.
1726, *Feb.* 17, *Robert Yard*, Eſq.
1728, *May* 29, *Anthony Allen*, Eſq.

*Ninth Office.*

1660, *June* 1, Sir *Tho. Eſtcourt.*
1683, *May*, *James Aſtry*, Eſq.
1693, *June*, *R. Holford*, Eſq.
1710, *Dec.* 2, *F. Dormer*, Eſq.
1721, *May* 18, *H. Edwards*, Eſq.
1726, *Dec*, *F. C. Maſham*, Eſq.
1731, *June* 2, *Will. Spicer*, Eſq.

*Tenth Office.*

1660, *June* 6, Sir *W. Littleton.*
1670, *Dec. Andr. Hackett*, Eſq.
1618, *July*, Sir *Adam Ottley.*
1693, *Oct.* 20, *Tho. Pitt*, Eſq.
1712, *Nov.* 3, *H. Lovibond*, Eſq.
1728, *May* 29, *John Tothill*, Eſq.
1732, *Mar. Rich. Edwards*, Eſq.

*Eleventh Office.*

1660, *June* 6, Sir *Edm Peirce.*
1667, *Oct.* 3, Dr. *Tho. Croſt.*
1670, *Jan. Wil. Beverſham*, Eſq.
1688, *Mar.* 16, *Sam. Keck*, Eſq.
1711, *June*, *S. Browning*, Eſq.
1719, *Jan.* 7, *J. Lightboun*, Eſq.
1738, *May*, *Edmund Sawyer*, Eſq.

*Twelfth Office.*

1660, *June* 18, Dr. *Woolrich.*
1664, *Oct.* 1, *Sir John Coell*,
1685, *July* 4, *J. Methuen*, Eſq.
1706, *Aug.* 7, *J. Medlicote*, Eſq.
1716, *March* 9, *J. Bennet*, Eſq.
1738, *Feb. Henry Montagu*, Eſq.

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" to the Prejudice of ſecular and eccleſiaſtical Perſons; " and that by Colour thereof he had given away the " Church of *Stow-guilford* in the County of *Surry*; " all which was to the Contempt of the King and his " Crown, and contrary to the aforeſaid Statute of 16 " *Rich.* II. Moreover, that, by Colour of the ſaid " Authority, he had cauſed the Laſt Wills and Teſta- " ments of many out of his Dioceſs to be exhibited " and proved in his Court, and their Goods and Chat- " tels to be adminiſtred by ſuch as he appointed: " Alſo that, under Colour of his ſaid Authority, he " had made divers Viſitations out of his Dioceſs, and " drawn Penſions from Abbeys, to the Contempt of " the King and his Laws."

*Attorneys aſſigned him*

As many Proſecutions were ſet on foot againſt the Cardinal, no ſooner was *Michaelmas* Term begun, but he received a Commiſſion that empowered him to appoint proper Attorneys to defend him againſt the different Proſecutions that the Court was now very intent in carrying on againſt him, the Original whereof in *Latin* is preſerved in *Rymer*'s *Fœd.* Vol. XIV. and runs in *Engliſh* thus.*

As

* ' *To appoint Attornies in the* ' *King's Courts for the Lord* ' CARDINAL.

' THE *King to all thoſe to* ' *whom*, &c. *greeting*, ' KNOW ye, that we, out of ' our ſpecial Favour, certain ' Knowledge, and mere Incli- ' nation, have given and grant- ' ed, and by theſe Preſents do ' give and grant ſpecial Licenſe, ' as much as in us lies, to the ' moſt Rev. Father in Chriſt, ' *Thomas*, by divine Clemency, ' of the Holy *Roman* See, *Legate* ' *a Latere*, Cardinal Prieſt, Arch- ' biſhop of *York*, Primate of ' *England*, or by what other ' additional Name, or Dignity ' ſoever that he is known by, ' that the ſaid moſt Rev. Father ' may appoint and conſtitute one ' or two, born our liege Sub- ' jects, capable and diſcreet Men, ' and learned in the Laws of our ' Kingdom of *England*, which he ' ſhall think proper to chuſe, or- ' dain or conſtitute his Attor- ' neys, jointly or ſeparately, free- ' ly and legally to act for him, ' in Form of Law, before us, in ' our

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As soon as the Cardinal had received this Commission he appointed two Attorneys to defend his Causes, a Memorial whereof was fixed in the proper Courts, which we have here exhibited in *English.* *

The

' our Chancery, and to gain or ' lose in all manner of Actions, ' Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informations, Impeachments, Suits, ' Complaints, moved, followed ' or affirmed, or hereafter to be ' moved, prosecuted or affirmed, ' in our Court before us, or any, ' or either of our Courts, by ' whomsoever of our Judges, or ' Justices, against the said Cardinal alone, or against him ' and any other Person, or Persons jointly, at our Suit, or ' the Suit and Complaint of any ' other Person or Persons, willing to prosecute the said Cardinal for us and themselves, or ' for themselves alone, being ' moved, prosecuted, and affirmed, or to be moved, prosecuted, ' or affirmed, on any Contempts, Transgressions, or Offences whatsoever, perpetrated ' by the said Cardinal, or committed contrary to the Form of ' any Statute, of Ordinance, or ' Statutes, or Ordinances, of Proviſoes or of Premunire, or ' either of them.

' Willing, and, by the Tenor ' of these Presents, granting, as ' much as depends of us, that ' the said Attorneys jointly, or ' either of them separately may ' do and transact all and singular relating to us concerning ' the Premises, in the Stead or ' Name of the aforesaid Cardinal, as the said Cardinal might ' and ought to transact and do ' before us in our Court, or in ' the other Courts aforesaid, or ' either of them, if he himself ' were personally present.

' And that the said Cardinal ' may have as many and such ' Briefs out of our Chancery for ' his said Attorneys in our said ' Court before us, and in all our ' other Courts aforesaid, for the ' same Cardinal in the Form above specified, to be admitted ' and received to gain or lose ' in all and singular the Actions, ' Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informations, Suits, Impeachments and ' Complaints aforesaid, to be determined before the Judges or ' Justices aforesaid, and as many and such as may be necessary and useful from Time to ' Time to the same Cardinal.

' In Testimony whereof, &c.

' Witness the King at *West-* ' *minster*, the 2d of *Oc-* ' *tober.*'

' * *Of the Attorneys appointed by* ' *the Cardinal of* York.

' MEmorandum, That, on ' the 27th Day of *Oc-* ' *tober*, in the 19th Year of the ' Reign of the Lord *Henry* the ' VIIIth, by the Grace of God, ' of *England* and *France* King, ' De-



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*Submits to the King.* The Cardinal, notwithſtanding the King ſeemed to ſhew him ſome Marks of Favour, ſoon found, from the vigorous Proceedings carrying on againſt him, that he was reſolved to have him at his Mercy upon the Statute of *Premunire*, altho' it appeared to the whole Nation, it was a great Hardſhip to have that Law let looſe upon him; inaſmuch as he had the King's Licence to execute his Legatine Commiſſion: Yet, at the Importunity of ſeveral Lords of the Council, he declined pleading to the Information exhibited againſt him. This being known to the Court, the Judges were, for Form ſake, ſent down to him to demand his Anſwer, which he returned in theſe Words.

" *My*

' Defender of the Faith, and Lord ' of *Ireland*, came before the ' King in his Chancery at *Weſt-* ' *minſter*, the moſt Rev. Father ' in Chriſt, *Thomas*, by Divine ' Clemency, *Legate a Latere* from ' the Apoſtolick See, Cardinal ' Prieſt, Archbiſhop of *York*, and ' Primate of *England*, and by ' Virtue of the Letters Patent of ' the Lord the King, bearing ' Date the 9th of *October*, in the ' 21ſt Year of his Reign, with ' the Permiſſion granted to him ' by the ſaid Lord the King, he ' conſtituted and appointed for ' his Attorneys jointly and ſepa- ' rately in his Stead, in the ſaid ' Court of Chancery, his belov- ' ed in Chriſt *John Scuſe* and ' *Chriſtopher Jenny*, Eſqrs, and ' learned in the Laws of *Eng-* ' *land*, to gain or loſe, in all ' and all manner of Actions, ' Briefs, Pleas, Bills, Informa- ' tions, Impeachments, Suits and ' Complaints, moved, proſecut- ' ed, affirmed, or hereafter to ' be moved, proſecuted, or af- ' firmed, in the Court of the ' Lord the King, before the ' ſame Lord the King; or in ' what other his Court or Courts ' ſoever, or either of them, and ' before what Judges or Juſtices ' ſoever of the ſaid King, againſt ' the ſaid Cardinal alone, or a- ' gainſt him and ſome other Per- ' ſon or Perſons jointly, or at ' the Suit of the ſaid Lord the ' King, for the ſaid Lord the ' King only, or at the Suit or ' Complaint of any other Perſon, ' or Perſons, willing to complain ' and proſecute for the ſaid Lord ' the King, and themſelves, or ' for themſelves alone againſt the ' aforeſaid Cardinal moved, pro- ' ſecuted, or affirmed, or hereaf- ' ter to be moved, proſecuted, ' or affirmed, of what Con- ' tempts, Tranſgreſſions, or Of- ' fences, ſuppoſed, or to be ſup- ' poſed, to have been committed ' and perpetrated by the ſaid ' Cardinal, againſt the Form of ' any Statute or Ordinance, or ' of any other Statutes or Or- ' dinances, of Proviſoes or Pre- ' munire, or either of them."

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" *My Lords Judges,*

" THE King's Highneſs knoweth whether I have offended his Ma- " jeſty or no, in uſing my Prerogative " Legatine, for which I am proſecuted: I had the " King's Licence in my Coffers under his Hand and " Broad Seal, for the exerciſing and uſing thereof " in the largeſt wiſe, the which now are in the Hands " of mine Enemies:* Therefore, becauſe I will not " ſtand in Queſtion with the King in his own Cauſe, " I will here preſently confeſs before you the In- " formation, and put me wholly to the Grace and " Mercy of the King; truſting that he hath a *Con-* " *ſcience*, and a Diſcretion to conſider the Truth, and " my humble Submiſſion and Obedience, wherein I " might right well ſtand to the Trial thereof by " Juſtice: But thus much you may ſay to his High- " neſs, that I am wholly under his Obeiſance, and will " and do ſubmit myſelf to all Things that ſhall be his " princely Pleaſure, whoſe Will and Commandment " I never diſobeyed or repugned, but was always con- " tented or glad to pleaſe him before GOD, whom " I ought moſt chiefly to have obeyed, the which " now makes me repent."

*His Speech to the Judges.*

To this the Judges made no other Reply than, " That they would report his Anſwer to his Ma- " jeſty;" and, upon their Return to *London*, Judg- ment was ſigned: Notwithſtanding this, the Cardinal had before received Aſſurances from his Majeſty, that he would not proceed to the utmoſt Rigour of the Law,



* It is very likely from this Speech, that the Cardinal would have put himſelf upon Trial by his Country, if his Books, Writ- ings, and Papers had not been arbitrarily taken from him, which ſhews the Happineſs we enjoy at this Time, when every Man has, by Law, the Privilege of hav- ing his Papers reſtored to him, in order to make his Defence, before he can be compelled to appear in any of our Courts of Juſtice to abide a Trial: A Pri- vilege we hope our Country will always enjoy.

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Upon the Judgment's being ſigned, the Cardinal's whole Eſtate, both real and perſonal, was forfeited to the King, himſelf out of the King's Protection, and his Perſon ſubject to Impriſonment, the uſual Sentence incurred on a *Premunire*: And, as he was now entirely under Diſgrace, we may look upon him hereafter as a kind of Priſoner at large in his Reſidence at *Eſher*.

The Writer of the *Church Hiſtory* with great Truth ſays, "That it is not only from the Cardinal's "Words, that we are aſſured he exerciſed the *Legatine* Power by Royal Authority; ſeveral publick "Records expreſly make mention of it: There is "the King's Letters Patent confirming the Pope's "Bull to that Purpoſe; and the 28th Article, which "was exhibited in Parliament againſt him, charges "him not with the *Uſe*, but the *Abuſe* of his "Power."

Fiſh, *one that had abuſed the Cardinal, received into Favour.*

As the Cardinal was now in Diſgrace, *Simon Fiſh*, who was afterwards a zealous Man for the *Reformation*, was ſent for back to *England*, and kindly received by the King. He had before quitted his Country upon the Account of a Play that was wrote by one *Roe*, one of the Parts in which highly reflected upon the Cardinal; and, on endeavouring to get it acted, it was refuſed by ſeveral Perſons, but when he applied to this *Fiſh*, he fell in readily with his Requeſt.

*Fiſh* had had a good Academical Education, was for ſome time a Student in *Gray's-Inn*, and his being introduced into the King's Favour was upon this Occaſion. When he was Abroad, he fell into Company with the famous *William Tyndal*; who, on his acquainting him with the Reaſon that obliged him to quit his Country, put him upon Writing a little Book, calculated to defame the Cardinal and the Clergy, which they entitled, *The Supplication of Beggars*.

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*gars.* It begins with a lamentable Complaint of the Misery of the Times, *&c.* and enters into bitter Reflections upon the Cardinal, Bishops, Priors, Monks, Friars, *&c.* a Copy of this Book (after the Affair of the Divorce was commenced, the Proceedings thereon not pleasing the Court) he sent to the Lady *Anna Bulleyn*, who, as soon as she had perused it, believing it might answer the End of defaming the Cardinal still more, gave it to his Majesty, who received it with a seeming Approbation. This emboldened *Fish*'s Friends to cause divers Copies of it to be scattered up and down *London.* Of this Usage *Wolsey* complained to the King, but no notice was taken of it: On the contrary, *Fish* was more and more countenanced by the Partizans against the Cardinal.

After his Return to *England* he translated, from the *Dutch* into *English*, a Piece, entitled, *The Sum of the Scriptures*, which was also well approved of: But at last he died of the Plague in the Year 1531, and was buried in the Church of *St. Dunstan in the West*, *London.*

*The Cardinal's Behaviour under his Misfortunes.*

The Cardinal, however, bore up under his Misfortunes as well as the Circumstances of his Affairs would admit of: For on *All-Saints* Day, after Divine Service, there dined with the Cardinal several of his Chaplains and other Ecclesiasticks, who had an immediate Dependance upon him; and, among the rest, *Thomas Cromwell*, his Chief Sollicitor. In the Discourse that happened at Table, Mr. *Cromwell* took the Liberty to mention the Fidelity of most of his Eminence's Servants, who had not deserted him in his Troubles, nor had they any Likelihood of being considered. After Dinner the Cardinal, being in private with *Cromwell*, entered upon the same Subject, when *Cromwell* proposed a Way in some measure to provide for them, but not without some tart Reflections upon the Cardinal's Chaplains, who possessed very large Revenues thro' his Eminence's Means.

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Means. Soon after this Conference the whole Houſe aſſembled in the Hall, by the Cardinal's Order, where he preſented himſelf in his Pontifical Attire, and, having viewed his Domeſticks as they were ranged on both Sides of the Room, he turned towards the Window, to wipe away the Tears, which he could not refrain from ſhedding at the Sight of ſo many old and faithful Servants, whom he was not able to reward according to their Merits. They, on the other hand, could not behold ſo kind a Maſter with dry Eyes, whom he endeavoured to comfort with a moving Speech, (which *Cavendiſh* gives us at length) and concluded it with proteſting, *That he had nothing left to diſtribute among them, beſides the Garments he wore, which he was willing to ſtrip himſelf of, and divide among them.* Mr. *Cromwell* took hold of that Motion, and contributed ſomewhat out of his Pocket, which induced the Chaplains to make a Collection among themſelves, proportionable to their Revenues; by which Means the Cardinal was enabled to diſcharge his Servants, and allow them ſeveral Months Subſiſtance; ſome of whom returned to their Families or Friends, but others ſtaid with the Cardinal to ſee the Iſſue of his Misfortunes.

*Mr.* Cromwell *repairs to* London.

The next Day Mr. *Cromwell* ſet out for *London* to attend both his Maſter's and his own Affairs, having firſt declared, *he would mar all, or make all,* (his uſual Saying) and, if he ſucceeded, he would be back again in a few Days.

*Sir* John Ruſſell *attends the Cardinal.*

About 12 o'Clock at Night, after Mr. *Cromwell* had left *Eſher*, Sir *John Ruſſell* arrived there, being ſent privately by the King, then reſiding at *Greenwich*, whoſe Buſineſs was to aſſure the Cardinal, that he was ſtill in the King's Favour, in Token whereof his Majeſty had ſent him with another Ring, ſet with a *Turkiſh* Stone, with Orders to tell him, "That he was ſorry he had given ſo much Credit to

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To his Grace JOHN DUKE of BEDFORD &c.
This Plate of his Great o Ancestor,
is humbly Inscribed by his Graces,
most obed.t humble Serv.t — Joseph Grove.

N. Parr Sculp.

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" to the Insinuations of his Enemies:" And, as soon as Sir *John Russell* had delivered his Message, he took Horse, and was back again at *Greenwich* before Break-of-day. What passed on this Occasion *Cavendish* relates.

Soon after this the Cardinal had Part of his Furniture and some of his Plate, *&c.* restored to him, which was a great Mortification to those who were resolved to ruin him one Way or other.

The Cardinal besides this, upon Application, obtained from the King this Licence and Protection*. *The King grants the Cardinal a Protection, &c.*

Tho'

* ' *The* KING, *To all whom it* ' *may concern, greeting.*

' WHEREAS *Thomas*, by ' Divine Permission, Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of ' *York*, Primate of *England*, ' on *Saturday* next after the ' Feast of *St. Michael* last past, ' in our Court before us, of ' and concerning a certain Bill ' by our Attorney General, in ' our said Court, first preferred ' for us, against the aforesaid ' Cardinal, by the Name of the ' most Rev. Father *Thomas*, ' &c. that is to say, on the ' 9th Day of *October* last past, ' for divers *grievous Contempts*, ' *Transgressions, and Offences, lately committed and perpetrated by* ' *the said Cardinal against us*, ' our Crown, Dignity, and Prerogative, and against the Statute of Provisions made in the ' Parliament, held at *Winchester* ' by *Richard* the IId, King of ' *England*, after the Conquest, ' our Progenitor, and in the 16th ' Year of his Reign, was convicted, and by the Sentence of ' our said Court, was put out of ' our Protection.

' And whereas the aforesaid Cardinal, that is to say, on the next ' after the Morrow of *St. Martin* ' last past, in our said Court before us, of and concerning another Bill, first preferred by our ' said Attorney General, in our ' said Court, for us, against the ' aforesaid Cardinal, that is to ' say, on the 20th of *October* last ' past, for divers other grievous ' Contempts, Transgressions and ' Offences, committed and perpetrated by the said Cardinal, ' against us, our Crown, Dignity, and Prerogative; and the ' Form of the said Statute was ' convicted, and, by the Sentence of our said Court, put ' out of our Protection, as may ' be plainly seen by the separate Records relating to the ' Premises, kept before us in ' our said Court.

' And afterwards the same Cardinal most humbly entreated of ' us, that he, being thus out of ' our Protection, has probable ' Conjectures to fear, that he may ' be

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*He enquires after his Estates.*

Tho' the King granted the Cardinal this last mentioned Favour, yet he and his Ministers omitted not to make the most diligent Enquiry to find out any Estate or Effects that belonged to his late Minister, and when any appeared, they were immediately confiscated to the King's Use; the Form of the Inquisition we have here exhibited.*

But

'be easily set upon by certain 'Rivals, to the Damage and 'Danger of his Body, unless we 'mercifully succour him.

'Being willing graciously to 'provide, in this Behalf, for the 'Security of his Body, against 'the Malice of his said Rivals, 'we, being favourably inclined 'to the said Petition, out of our 'special Grace, have taken and 'received, and by these Presents 'do take and receive the Body 'and Person of the aforesaid Cardinal, from the Day of the 'Date of these Presents, during 'our Pleasure, into our Protection and Safeguard in the Manner and Form following, *viz.*

'We forbid all and singular 'our Subjects, and every of them, 'of what State, Degree, or 'Condition soever they may be, 'that they or any of them neither do, nor procure to be done, 'any Damage or Harm to the 'said Cardinal's Body: And we 'grant our firm Peace by these 'Presents to the said Cardinal 'during our Pleasure.

'And further, out of our 'more bountiful Grace, we grant 'to the said Cardinal, that he 'may prosecute and follow all 'and whatsoever our Personal 'Briefs; as likewise all Manner of personal Actions, Suits, 'Complaints, and Bills, on whatsoever Transgressions and other 'personal Causes, accruing and 'happening to him from hence 'forward, or that may be committed or perpetrated by him, 'in our said Court before us, 'or before whomsoever of our 'Judges, or Justices, according 'to the Laws and Customs of 'our Kingdom of *England*, and 'that he ought to be answered 'in the said Prosecutions, and 'likewise from time to time to 'demand and have the Sentences 'and Execution due and issuing 'thereupon during our Pleasure, 'as the Causes and Case shall 'require in Law. Whatever Statute, *&c.* In Testimony where-'of, *&c.* Witness the King at '*Westminster* the 18th of *Nov.*

'By the KING in Person.'

* 'The KING *to his beloved and* '*faithful* Rodolph Badman, '*Knt.* John Baker *and* William Walsyngham, *greeting.*

'KNOW ye that we have 'constituted you, three or 'two of you, our Commissioners to enquire, on the Oath of 'of honest and just Men of the 'City of *London* aforesaid, as 'well within as without the Liberties, by whom the Truth of 'the

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But before any of the Proceedings, we have been ſpeaking of, were had againſt the Cardinal, the King gave Directions in the Month of *Auguſt*, for calling a Parliament to meet on the 3d of *Nov.* and Mr. *Cromwell* was, by the Means of one Mr. *Ruſh*,

*The King gives Directions for calling a Parliament.*

' the Matter may the better be ' known, into what and how ma- ' ny Manors, Lordſhips, Lands, ' Tenements, Poſſeſſions, Rents, ' Services, Reverſions, Advowſons, ' Patronages of Churches, Cha- ' pels, and other Eccleſiaſtical ' Benefices, Penſions, Portions, ' Incomes, and all other Here- ' ditaments whatſoever, which ' the moſt Rev. Father in Chriſt, ' *Thomas*, Cardinal Prieſt, Arch- ' biſhop of *York*, and Primate of ' *England*, was ſeized of and poſ- ' ſeſſed on the 28th Day of *Au- ' guſt*, in the 15th Year of our ' Reign, or on the 2d Day of ' the Month of *Dec.* in the ſame ' 15th Year of our Reign, or at ' any other Time after the ſaid ' 2d Day of *Dec.* either alone, or ' jointly with any other Perſon ' or Perſons, as a Fief, or Re- ' verſion; or for the Term of ' his Life or Years, or otherwiſe ' in the ſaid County. On which ' ſaid 2d Day of *Dec.* the ſame ' Cardinal in our Court before ' us was legally, lawfully, and ' juſtly convicted, and ſtands con- ' demned for divers Contempts, ' Tranſgreſſions and Offences a- ' gainſt us, our Crown, Prero- ' gative, and Dignity; and a- ' gainſt the Tenor of the Statute ' made in the 16th Year of the ' Reign, and in the Parliament ' of the late *Richard* the IId af- ' ter the Conqueſt, King of *Eng- ' land*, held at *Weſtminſter*, a- ' gainſt thoſe who had obtained ' or ſollicited, or that cauſed to ' be ſollicited or obtained, from ' the Court of *Rome*, or elſe- ' where, Proceſſes, Sentences, ' Excommunications, Bulls, In- ' ſtruments, or any thing of ' this Kind, which concern ' the Lord the King, againſt his ' Crown, Prerogative, or the ' Kingdom of *England*, and a- ' gainſt thoſe who brought them ' into or received them, notified ' or executed any of them, in the ' ſaid Kingdom.

' We therefore command you, ' that at certain Times and Places ' which you three, or two of you, ' ſhall appoint for this Purpoſe, ' to make diligent Inquiries a- ' bout all and ſingular the Pre- ' miſes, which being diſtinctly ' and openly made, to ſend them ' to us in our *Chancery*, where- ' ſoever it ſhall be, within the ' Octave of *St. Michael*, under ' the Seals of three or two of ' you, who had been preſent at ' the taking of ſuch Inquiſition, ' and the Seals of thoſe who had ' made the Enquiries, together ' with this our preſent Com- ' miſſion.

' And we command our She- ' riffs of the City of *London* a- ' foreſaid, by the Tenor of theſe



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*Ruſh*, his Friend, choſen a Member of that great Aſſembly.

*Proceedings of the Eighth Paliament.* 1529.

On the 3d of *November* the Parliament met at *Black-friars*, where, the King being ſeated upon his Throne in the Houſe of Lords, and the Commons attending, Sir *Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor, ſtanding on his Majeſty's Right-hand within the Bar, opened the Cauſe of calling them together with a Speech, in which he obſerved, as *Hall* has handed it to us, " That, like a good Shepherd, " which not only keepeth and attendeth well his " Sheep, but alſo foreſeeth and provideth for all " Things, that might be either hurtful or noiſome " to his Flock, or may preſerve and defend the " ſame againſt all Perils that may chance to come; " ſo the King, who was the Shepherd, Ruler, and " Governor of his Realm, vigilantly foreſeeing Things " to come, conſidering how divers Laws which, be- " fore that Time made, were now, by long Conti- " nuance of Time and Mutation of Things, very in- " ſufficient and imperfect; and alſo, by the frail " Condition of Men, divers new Enormities were " ſprung up among the People, for which no Law " was

' Preſents, that they bring be- ' fore you three, or two of you, ' on certain Days, and at cer- ' tain Places, of which you are ' to give them Notice, ſuch and ' as many honeſt and juſt Men ' from their Bailiwicks, as well ' within the Liberties as without, ' by whom the Truth of the ' Matter in the Premiſes may ' be the better known and en- ' quired into, purſuant to the ' Number and Qualities of the ' Perſons which you ſhall re- ' quire, in our Behalf, to be ' brought before you.

' And we therefore command ' you to proceed carefully and ' diligently on the Premiſes, and ' to execute and fulfil the ſame ' with Effect. *Salvo* the Amerce- ' ments from iſſuing and pertain- ' ing to us.

' In Teſtimony whereof, &c.

' Witneſs the King at *Weſt-* ' *ſter*, &c.'

And Commiſſions of the ſame Nature were ſent to all the Shires, Cities, and Burroughs, &c. in the Kingdom.

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" was yet made to reform the ſame, which was " the Cauſe that induced the King at this Time to " ſummons his Parliament." Then Sir *Thomas* aſſigns the Reaſon for his likening the King to a Shepherd or Herdſman; " For if a Prince be com- " pared to his Riches, he is but a rich Man; if a " Prince be compared to his Honour, he is but an " honourable Man; but compare him to the Multi- " tude of his People, and the Number of his Flock, " then he is a Ruler, a Governor, of Might and " Puiſſance; ſo that his People maketh him a Prince, " as of the Multitude of the Sheep cometh the Shep- " herd: As you ſee that amongſt a great Flock of " Sheep ſome be rotten and faulty, which the good " Shepherd ſendeth from the good Sheep; ſo the " great *Wether*, which is of late fallen, as you all " know, ſo craftily, ſo ſcabbily, and ſo unrulily juggled " with the King, that all Men muſt needs gueſs " and think, that he thought in himſelf, that they " had no Wit to perceive his crafty Doings, or elſe " that he preſumed that the King would not ſee " or perceive his fraudulent Juggling and Attempts; " but he was deceived, for his Grace's Sight was ſo " quick and penetrable, that he ſaw him, yea, and " ſaw through him both within and without; ſo that " all Things were open, and according to his Deſert " he hath had a *gentle Correction*,* which *ſmall Pu-* " *niſhment* the King would not only have to be an " Example to other Offenders, but clearly declareth, " that whoſoever hereafter ſhould make the like At- " tempt, or commit the like Offence, ſhall not e-

 ſcape

* That is, ſtripped the Cardinal of all that he had; and what was attempted, before the breaking up of the Parliament, ſhews it was to have been a *heavy Correction*. It has been happy, for ſome ſince, that the Proceedings of thoſe Times have not been followed by their Poſterity; for, if that had been the Caſe, we leave our Readers to judge what would have been the Fate of ſome great Miniſters ſince his Time.

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" ſcape with like Puniſhment. And becauſe you of " the Common Houſe be a groſs Multitude, and " cannot ſpeak all at one Time: Therefore the King's " Pleaſure is, you ſhall reſort to the Nether Houſe, " and there among yourſelves, according to the old " and antient Cuſtom, to chuſe an able Perſon to be " your common Mouth and Speaker; and, after " your Election be made, to advertiſe his Grace " thereof, who will declare to you what Day he would " have him preſented in his Place."

Upon this the Commons repaired to their Houſe, and choſe for their Speaker *Thomas Audley*, Eſq; Attorney General of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, and the ſame Day the Parliament adjourned to *Weſtminſter*. On the 6th of *November* the King came again to the Houſe of Lords in the ſame State as before, and there the Commons preſented their Speaker to him in Form.

Mr. *Audley* upon this Occaſion ſpoke to the King touching two Points: 1*ſt*, " He praiſed his Majeſty " for his Equity and Juſtice, which was mixed with " Mercy and Pity; ſo that no Offence was forgotten " or left unpuniſhed: Yet, in the Puniſhment, the " Extremity and Rigour of the Law were not " cruelly extended; which ſhould be the Cauſe to " bridle all Men from doing like Offences, and alſo " a Comfort to Offenders to confeſs their Crimes " and Offences, which would be the Means of Amend- " ment and Reconciliation.

The ſecond Point was relating to " his Inability to " execute ſo high an Office that the Commons had " elected him into, and therefore prayed his Majeſty " to order the Commons to reſort to their Houſe, and " chuſe another Speaker;" which being denied, and the King declaring his Approbation of him, the Speaker thereupon made the uſual Requeſt on Behalf of the Commons, which was granted, and they then returned to their Houſe; and the firſt Matter they proceeded

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ceeded on was to enquire into the disgraced Minister's Administration; and in the Course of the Debate several smart Reflections on him (as usual in the like Cases) were thrown out; all which *Cromwell* as smartly answered, so that the Commons did not then think proper to form any Articles of Impeachment; But (whilst they were busy in passing several Acts, the most material of which were *) the Lords exhibited no less than forty Articles against *Wolsey*, which were signed chiefly by the Court Creatures; therefore it seems feasible enough, that the kind Messages, before sent him by the King, were only Sugar-plumbs to decoy him (as the Cardinal expressed it) into *Fools Paradise*. The Substance of the Articles we have here given, with some Remarks thereon.

*The*

* I. The King was discharged from the Payment of several Sums, lent him at different Times by his Subjects.

II. That the Executors of a Will, who take upon them the Burthen of it, should have Liberty to sell such Estates as the Testator devised to be sold by his Will.

III. That for Probates of Wills, where a Man dies only worth 5 *l.* clear, there should be paid but Six-pence, if worth 40 *l.* three Shillings and Six-pence, and if more than 40 *l.* five Shillings.

IV. That Mortuaries should be paid only where they used to be paid, and according to the following Rate: If one dies worth 10 Marks clear, 3 *s.* 4 *d.* if above 30 *l.* clear, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* if above 40 *l.* clear, 10 *s.* and this to be paid only by House-keepers, but not to extend to *Wales* or *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

V. That Servants, embezzeling their Master or Mistress's Goods in any House, should suffer as Felons.

VI. That no spiritual Person should take any Lands to farm upon Pain of forfeiting ten Pounds a Month; and that no Clergyman that hath any Benefice with Cure of Souls of the yearly Value of eight Pounds, or above, should take another, unless qualified, as being a Doctor, or Batchelor of of Divinity, or Chaplain to a Nobleman; and this Act sets forth how many each Peer may have; an Archbishop eight; a Duke or Bishop six; a Marquis and Earl five, a Viscount four, the High Chancellor, every Baron, Knight of the Garter, three; every Dutchess, Marchioness, Countess and Baroness, being Widows, and the Treasurer, and Comptroler of the Houshold, the King's Secretary, Dean of the Chapel, Attorney and Master of the Rolls, two; the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Warden of *Cinque Ports*, one.

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*The PREAMBLE to the Articles.*

*Articles exhibited againſt the Cardinal in the Houſe of Lords.*

"CONſtrained by Neceſſity, out of "our Fidelity and Conſcience, we "complain and ſue to your moſt Royal "Majeſty, we your Grace's humble, true, "faithful and obedient Subjects, That "the Lord Cardinal of *York*, lately your Grace's "Chancellor, preſuming to take upon him the Au- "thority of the Pope's *Legate de Latere*, hath, by "divers, and many ſundry Ways and Faſhions, com- "mitted high and notable grievous Offences, miſ- "uſing, altering, and ſubverting the Order of your "Grace's Laws, and otherwiſe, contrary to your "high Honour, Prerogative, Crown, Eſtate, and Dig- "nity Royal, to the ineſtimable great Hindrance, "Diminution and Decay of this your Grace's Realm, "as it is touched ſummarily and particularly in cer- "tain Articles here following, which be but a few "in Compariſon of all his Enormities, Exceſſes, and "Tranſgreſſions againſt your Grace's Laws."

I. Aſſerts the Kings of *England* have been ſo free for the Space of 200 Years, that they have had in all the World no other Sovereign, but immediately ſubject to Almighty God, whereby your Grace may preſcribe againſt the Pope's Holineſs, that he ſhould not, nor ought not, to ſend or make any Legate, to execute any Authority Legatine, contrary to your Grace's Prerogative, within this your Realm: Now the Lord Cardinal of *York* being your Subject, and natural Liege born, hath of his high Mind, for his own Advancement and Profit, in Derogation and Hurt of your ſaid Royal Juriſdiction and Prerogative, and the long Continuance of the Poſſeſſion of the ſame, obtained Authority *Legatine*, by reaſon whereof he has not only hurt your ſaid Preſcription, but hath ſpoiled and taken away, from many Houſes of Religion within this

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this your Realm, much Subſtance of their Goods; and alſo hath uſurped upon all your Ordinaries within this your Realm much Part of their Juriſdiction, to the great Hurt, *&c.*

In Anſwer to this his Advocates argued, That they could not conceive how his Legatine Power could be conſtrued in Contempt or Prejudice of the King, or that it was againſt any Statute of Proviſoes heretofore made. But this laſt Aſſertion ſeems only a colourable Plea; for the Cardinal, who had ſo long preſided in the Court of Chancery, and as Legate at the Head of the Church, could not be ignorant of a Law ſo well known, and which principally concerned Eccleſiaſticks: Therefore we apprehend, as the Cardinal did nothing but what the King previouſly approved of, and conſented to, he might reaſonably preſume his Maſter would not take the Advantage of any Forfeiture incurred by him; but would rather make uſe of his Prerogative to protect a Miniſter from the Penalties of the Law, who acted in Virtue of his own Commiſſion: And the Cardinal muſt have entertained Thoughts very injurious to the Honour of the King, if he had even but ſuſpected, that he could be capable of forſaking or giving up a Servant, who had done no Crime, as to this Particular, but what he was priviledged from the Throne to commit; though many Inſtances may be given to ſhew, that Miniſters have been puniſhed for executing even certain poſitive Orders, wherewith they were charged by their Princes; and it is ſomewhat reaſonable there ſhould be Examples of publick Juſtice of this Kind, eſpecially where a Commiſſion derogatory to the Honour of the Crown, or prejudicial to the publick Peace, Safety, and Intereſt, has been fraudulently obtained.

But, whatever Miniſters of State have at any Time ſuffered, for acting in Conceſſion to their Princes, or in Purſuance to their Inſtructions, there are few Inſtances

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ſtances in Hiſtory, except in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, where any Prince appeared in ſuch a Caſe as a Party in the Proſecution, to the End that himſelf alone might reap the Emoluments ariſing from it.

II. That he made a Treaty without his Maſter's Conſent.

III. That he empowered Sir *Gregory de Caſſali* to conclude a Treaty of Amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, without any Warrant from the King.

IV. That he joined himſelf with the King, in his Letters and Inſtructions abroad, *The King and I give unto you our hearty Thanks*, quoth he, whereby it is apparent, that he uſed himſelf more like a Fellow unto your Highneſs than a Subject. —— This Expreſſion, though not to be defended, is not near ſo inſolent as that *Fox* charges him with, *I and my King command you to do thus*, placing himſelf firſt, and making the King his Property; for which *Fox* has no manner of Authority.

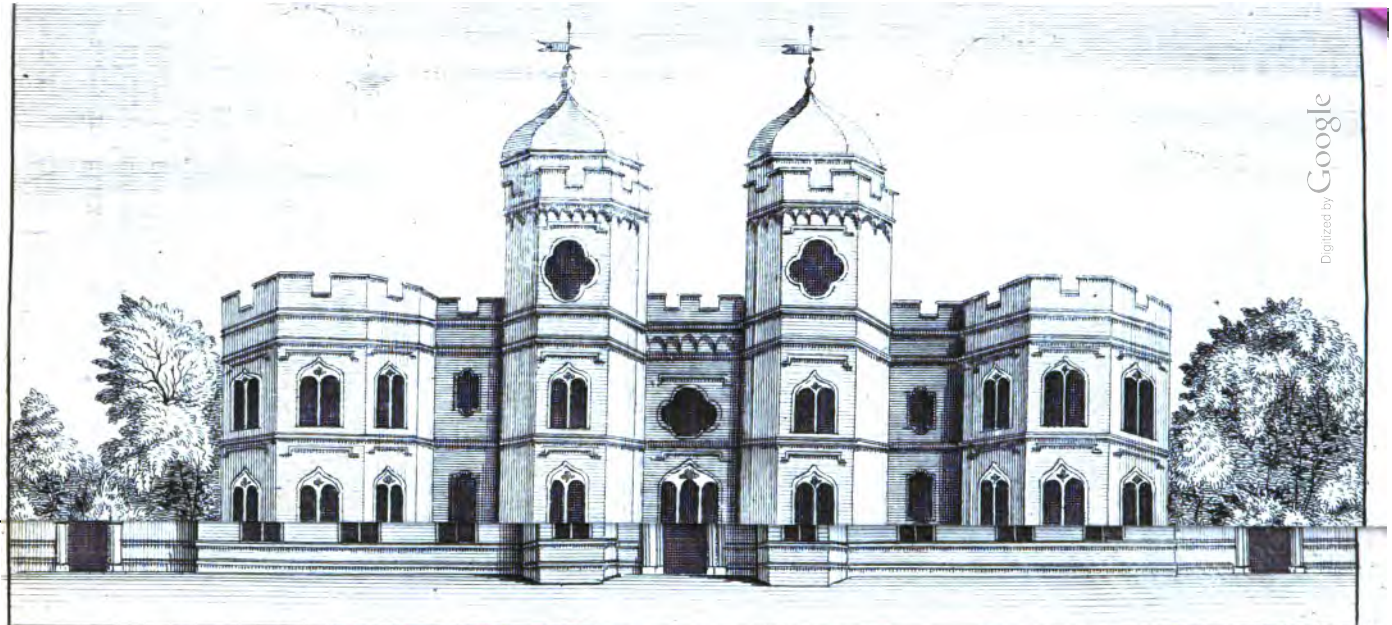
V. That he cauſed his Servants to be ſworn true to him only, as if there had been no Sovereign.

VI. That, knowing himſelf to have the *Great Pox*,* he breathed upon his Grace with his perilous and infective Breath, to the marvellous Danger of your Highneſs, if God, *&c.*

VII. That he, by his Authority *Legatine*, had diſpoſed of divers Benefices, belonging to Perſons as well ſpiritual as temporal, contrary to Law, and therefore hath incurred the Forfeiture of his Lands and Goods to the King.——And yet *Rapin* affirms, "That the "Car-

* If theſe Gentlemen had not talked of the Cardinal's infecting his Majeſty by his *Breath*, we ſhould be at a Loſs to know, whether the *French Pox*, or the *Small Pox*, was here meant; but *that* makes it out of Doubt; for, according to the Notion now prevailing, a Communication of *Fleſh* is rather conducive to the former, than *Breath*. This ſhews how they were put to it.

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N. Parr Sculp.

To the Right Honourable HENRY PELHAM ESQ.R
Chancellor and Under Treasurer of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer &c. &c.
This plate of the East and West prospects of your Seat at Esher
is humbly Inscribed by Sr. your most Obedient humble Servant Joseph Grove

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UNIV. OF MICH.

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" Cardinal was not accuſed in the Houſe of Lords " of exerciſing the Authority of *Legate.*"

VIII. That Ambaſſadors had come firſt to him, and he had heard their Charges and Intents alone.

IX. That he received Letters, ſent from beyond the Seas to the King, contrary to Order, *&c.*——— In both theſe Reſpects, we apprehend, he acted agreeable to the Nature of his Poſt, the Truſts repoſed in him, and according to the Method that ſtill generally obtains in all Courts where there is a Prime Miniſter.

X. That he had directed Perſons, having Reports to make of Affairs done beyond the Seas, ſhould at their Return come firſt to him, and, in caſe they did the contrary, he puniſhed them.

XI. That he had granted Licences for carrying Grain and other Victuals out of the Land after Prohibition.

XII. That he was wont to write Letters of his own Mind, without the King's Orders.

XIII. That he received Gratuities from Religious Houſes, ſo that they were not able to keep up Hoſpitality, as they were uſed to do, *&c.*

XIV. That he promiſed upon the ſuppreſſing of ſuch Religious Houſes, that the Poſſeſſions of them ſhould be ſet to farm among the King's Lay Subjects, after ſuch reaſonable yearly Rents, as that they ſhould be able to live and keep up good Hoſpitality, which he did not do.

XV. That, in ſitting among the Lords and others of the Privy Council, he uſed, if any Man would ſhew his Mind contrary to the Cardinal's Opinion, ſo to take them up, that they had better have held their Peace; and that he conſumed much Time with a *fair Tale.* *

XVI. That he was the undoing of the Subjects, for want of diſpatching their Affairs, *&c.*



* If telling *fair Tales* in our Time were to be deemed *treaſonable* we ſhould have had many more Impeachments.

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XVII. That, by his Authority *Legatine*, he had taken, upon the Death of ſpiritual Men, their Riches and Subſtance to his own Uſe, by reaſon whereof their Wills were not performed; and uſed Means to put ſo in fear thoſe that were made Executors, as to cauſe them to refuſe to meddle.

XVIII. That he conſtrained all Ordinaries in *England* yearly to compound with him, *&c.*

XIX. That he ſlandered the Clergy to the Pope, to anſwer his own Ends.

XX. That he examined divers Matters in the *Chancery*, after Judgment thereof given at the *Common Law*. —— That is, in Fact, he did what properly belonged to his Office as Chancellor; and Lord *Herbert* allows the Juſtice of his Adminiſtration in general, but particularly in his publick Hearing of Cauſes.

XXI. That he granted Injunctions by Writ, and the Party never called thereunto, nor Bill put in againſt them. —— If this was really the Caſe the Court muſt have been impoſed upon, for the Courſe is, there muſt be produced a Certificate of the Bill being filed, and then in ſpecial Matters, as to Staying Waſte, *&c.* Injunctions are granted, before the Defendant is ſerved with Proceſs to anſwer.

XXII. That he cauſed divers Pardons granted by the Pope, to be ſuſpended, till he obtained ſomething for himſelf. —— Why did not their Lordſhips ſend this Complaint to *Rome?*

XXIII. That he turned out his Tenants from his Eſtates, though they had good and ſufficient Grants thereof by Law.

XXIV. That he prevailed with Religious Houſes, on the Demiſe of their Heads, to ſubmit their Elections to him, by which Means he got Goods from them to the almoſt undoing them, *&c.*

XXV. That, by his Authority *Legatine*, he had viſited moſt Part of the Religious Houſes and Colleges, and had taken from them the 25th Part of their Livelihood,

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lihood, to the great Derogation of the Laws, *&c.* —— *This is not a Tenth.*

XXVI. That, when Matters were near a Judgment at Common Law, he granted Injunctions, *&c.* —— Which has always been the Practice of this Court, when it is agreeable to Equity; and here is not any particular Charge of Injuſtice done by the Cardinal on that Account.

XXVII. That he took from his Son *Winter* his Income of 2700 *l.* a Year, applied it to his own Uſe, and gave him only 200 *l.* yearly to live on. —— A very extraordinary Charge indeed! reſtrained his Son's Extravagance.

XXVIII. That he did not perform his Promiſe when choſe *Legate de Latere*, of not executing it to the Prejudice of the Ordinary's Juriſdiction. —— Upon which Condition, it ſeems, that Power was obtained! But there was no Inconſiſtency between his Promiſe and the Exerciſe of his Legatine Power; a Right of viſiting all the Clergy of *England*, both exempt and not exempt, being properly, as it had been formerly exerciſed, within the Legatine Commiſſion, by which therefore the Ordinary's Juriſdiction was ſuperceded. See Article 1.

XXIX. That he made untrue Surmiſes at *Rome* againſt the Clergy, in reſpect to their Manner of Living. —— As extraordinary as Article 19.

XXX. That he had Part of Dr. *Smith*'s (Biſhop of *Lincoln*) Goods, and others, contrary to their Wills.

XXXI. That he prevented Indictments being preferred at *York* againſt the Ordinaries. —— But before he is charged with uſing theſe Gentlemen ill.

XXXII. That he raiſed Diſſentions, by untrue *Tales*, amongſt the Nobles. —— A treaſonable *Tale* indeed!

XXXIII. That his Officers compelled the Subjects to ſerve him with Carts for Carriage, and his Servants bought Victuals at the King's Price, contrary to Law.



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—— Strange Sort of Treaſon this, as well as that in Article 35, for his Servants to buy Proviſions for his Family as cheap as his Maſter's did for his.

XXXIV. That he kept too great a Court in the King's Abſence.—— If he had kept none, he would very likely have been impeached for being a *Miſer:* So that let great Perſonages live *ſplendid* or *cloſe*, the cenſorious Multitude will always be carping.

XXXV. That his Servants bought Cattle and Proviſions as cheap as the King's Purveyors.

XXXVI. That he did not let the King's Purveyors have yearly out of the Town and Liberty of *St. Alban*'s three or four hundred Quarters of Wheat, as formerly accuſtomed.—— Prevented an Infringement.

XXXVII. That he hindred the King's Servants, who had Cauſes before him in the *Star-chamber*, from applying to the King for Pardon.

XXXVIII. That he unwarrantably committed Sir *John Stanley*, Knt. to the Priſon of the *Fleet:* And had had two Children by a Woman that was under his Care.—— A new Sort of Treaſon!

XXXIX. That he pulled down the King's Clerk's Price ſet upon Victuals, *&c.* and put up his own; on which he is charged with making himſelf equal to the King.—— Only regulating an Exorbitancy.

XL. That he preſumed to join and imprint the Cardinal's Hat under the King's Arms, in his Coin of Groats made at *York*.

XLI. That he countenanced, by an Injunction, the Dean of the Cardinal's College in *Oxford*, to take certain Tithes and Profits out of a Parſonage in *Buckinghamſhire*, which appertained to another; and that he committed one *Johnſon* to the *Fleet*, for oppoſing the ſame, where he remained for the Space of twelve Months.—— If every Chancellor ſince his Time had been impeached of Treaſon, for commiting irregular Perſons to the *Fleet*, there would but very few have eſcaped.

XLII.

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XLII. That he granted an Injunction in relation to an Eſtate, where the Matter was not properly brought before the Court.—See Art. 1, and 26.

XLIII. That he oppoſed thoſe who were for proſecuting Perſons charged with Hereſy; for that, two Biſhops being minded and deſirous to repair unto the Univerſity of *Cambridge* for Examination, Reformation, and Correction of ſuch Errors as then ſeemed and were reported to reign among the Students and Scholars of the ſame, as well touching the *Lutheran* Sect and Opinions as otherwiſe, the Lord Cardinal being informed thereof, expreſly inhibited and commanded them in no wiſe ſo to do; by Means whereof the ſame Errors crept more Abroad and took greater Place; and that it was not their Defaults, that the ſaid Hereſies were not puniſhed, but the ſaid Lord Cardinal's. ——— A very noble Charge againſt him, highly to his Honour, for that it proves he was not of a perſecuting Temper. Had the Cardinal, inſtead of interpoſing to prevent, encouraged a *religious Inquiſition*, which might have been attended with unreaſonable Severities, a Cauſe of Complaint againſt him, for the Abuſe of his great Power, had been much better founded: But what could induce his Enemies to cite an Inſtance of his *abuſing* his Power, ſo very honorary to his Memory, and ſo capable even at that Time of a good Defence? There were ſome few Perſons indeed that were brought to *abjure*, but none to be *burnt*, where he was properly concerned, or had any direct Authority. There were no Fires in *Smithfield* during his Miniſtry. It was in the Sequel of *Henry* the VIIIth's Reign they were kindled; and even, whilſt that great Prelate *Cranmer* preſided at the Head of the Church, Perſecution begun to reign, and the Blood of *Engliſh Proteſtants* to flow.

XLIV. Finally, they ſay, from the Articles it is evident, that the Cardinal, by his outragious Pride, had

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had greatly ſhadowed for a long Seaſon the King's Honour, *&c.* And conclude with praying the King, of his Goodneſs towards the Weal of his Realm, to ſet ſuch Order and Direction upon the ſaid Cardinal as might be to the *terrible* Example of others to beware ſo to offend the Laws, *&c.*

This is ſubſcribed the firſt Day of *Dec.* by

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir *T. More*, Chanc. | *R. Fitzwalter*, |
| The Duke of *Norfolk*, | *T. Rochford*, |
| The Duke of *Suffolk*, | *W. Mountjoy*, |
| *T. Dorſett*, | *W. Sandys*, |
| *H. Exon*, | *W. Fitzwilliam*, |
| *John Oxinford*, | *Henry Guildeford*, |
| *H. Northumberland*, | *Anthony Fitz Herbert*, |
| *G. Shrewſbury*, | *John Fitz James.* |

That is, by the Chancellor, a Dozen Lords, and three Commoners. A great Number truly! — *Several of whom were under the higheſt Obligations to him, as they juſtly acknowledged in his Proſperity.*

*The Articles rejected in the Houſe of Commons.*

Mr. *Cromwell* was as watchful of what was doing againſt the Cardinal in the Houſe of Lords, as he had been to break the Force of the Attempts againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and every Day remitted him Advice of the Proceedings in both Houſes: And it is agreed, though the Articles were ſent to the Commons for their Approbation, in order to get the Cardinal committed, *Cromwell* acted ſo acutely, that the Houſe unanimouſly throwed them out, and acquitted *Wolſey* from the Charges alledged againſt him; as Biſhop *Burnet* alſo admits: And the Cardinal was ſo confident of his Innocency, and ſo far from being in any Tremors, (as his Adverſaries have taken much Pains to make the World believe) that he told *Cavendiſh*, on their being read, *If I may come to my Anſwer, I fear no Man alive; for he liveth not, that, looking upon*

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*upon this Face,* (pointing to his own) *shall be able to accuse me of any Untruth; and that min: Enemies well know.**

The Cardinal's Acquital under such Circumstances, upon the Defence made for him by a Person at that Time so inconsiderable, and suspected of being partial to him, affords very reasonable Grounds of Presumption, that the Articles in general against him had no very solid Foundation.

*Mr. Collier's Remarks upon the Articles.*

The learned Mr. *Collier*, in the Conclusion of his Observations on the Articles exhibited against the Cardinal in Parliament, observes, "That Lord *Herbert* admits, *that nothing of this Nature was objected to the Cardinal, till he fell under the King's Displeasure*; which was a Sign, that it was the Envy and Ambition of his Enemies that found the Impeachment; they maligned his Greatness, coveted his Posts; and it might be hoped, that Part of his Wealth might fall to their Share. That the Articles would not stand the Test is plain, by their being thrown out of the House of Commons, where *Cromwell*, by the Cardinal's Instructions, disproved and broke the Force of them as soon as they were urged."

But the learned Bishop *Burnet* says, "The Cardinal was admitted to sit in the House of Lords, where he shewed himself as submissive in his Fawning, as he had formerly done in his Scorn and Contempt of all that durst oppose him": Though it is hardly Sense. Here is a Fact which never subsisted, related, and no other Evidence given, than the Author's positive Affirmation; But, as Reasons why it is not true, please to consider, *1st*, The Cardinal during the whole Sessions of Parliament remained at *Esher*. *2dly*, As he was

* We wish every Statesman, may be truly qualified to say the laying his Hand to his Heart, same!

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was condemned in a *Premunire*, he was, during the whole Sitting of the Parliament, liable to the Penalties of it; therefore could not ſit in the Houſe.

*Mr.* Salmon's *Account.*

Mr. *Salmon* ſays, "That the Cardinal's Enemies procured a Bill to be brought into the Houſe of Lords, and on the 1*ſt* of *Dec.* had Intereſt enough to get it paſſed in that Houſe, without affording his Eminence an Opportunity of making his Defence, either in Perſon or by Counſel: That this Bill was founded upon 44 Articles, which, being debated in the Houſe of Commons, were ſhewn to have no Treaſon in them by the celebrated *Cromwell*, formerly a Dependant of the Cardinal's; and, to his everlaſting Honour, had Courage and Addreſs to defend his old Maſter againſt the Fury of the new Miniſtry, and the whole Body * of Peers, and occaſioned the rejecting this Bill of Attainder by the Commons."

*The Parliament diſſolved.*

On the 17th of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 27th of *April* following, and ſome time after it was diſſolved.

*The D. of* Norfolk *viſits the Cardinal.*

As ſoon as Judgment was ſigned againſt the Cardinal, in the Court below upon the Premunire, the Duke of *Norfolk* paid him a Viſit, when they had a long Conference together, in which the Duke promiſed him, in the King's Name, that all his Servants ſhould be taken care of, whoſe Fidelity to their Maſter he highly commended. The Cardinal returned him Thanks for the Concern he had for his diſtreſſed Family; but at the ſame time could not forbear telling him, *That his Grace was one of the chief Inſtruments of his Ruin.*

The

* Herein we cannot agree with Mr. *Salmon*, becauſe it was but a very inconſiderable Party that appeared againſt him, as is evident by the Names ſubſcribed to the Articles.

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The next Day Judge *Shelley* * was sent to *Eſher* to demand, in his Majeſty's Name, the Surrender of *York-houſe*, producing a Deed of Reſignation, which the Cardinal was deſired to ſign. This Demand very much moved the Cardinal; and he alledged, "That, as *York-houſe* † belonged to his See, it was "not

*Judge* Shelley *demands for the King* York-place.

* From one of this Judge's Family Sir *John Shelley*, Bart. is deſcended. See *Engliſh Baronettage.*

† When the King was thus poſſeſſed of this magnificent Palace, he cauſed to be erected a ſtately Manſion at *St. James's*, and, for the Service of it as well as for that of *York-place*, afterwards called *Whitehall*, incloſed a Spot of Ground, and converted it into a beautiful Park, which was no ſooner accompliſhed, than he cauſed the preſent ſtately Gate near the Treaſuries to be erected, to which he added a magnificent Gallery for the Accommodation of the Royal Family, Nobility, *&c.* to ſit in to behold the ſeveral Juſtings, and other military Exerciſes, in the *Tilt-yard*, which was ſo denominated from the *Tiltings* therein practiſed.

Soon after *Henry* erected, for other Diverſions, contiguous to the aforeſaid Gate, a Tennis-court, Cock-pit, and Places to bowl in; the former of which only remains, the reſt being converted into Dwelling-houſes and Offices, for the Privy-council and Secretaries of State.

And the preſent ſtately and magnificent Fabrick, called the Banqueting Houſe, was erected by King *James* the Iſt, being the only Part of his intended ſpacious Palace that was built, which, if it had been finiſhed according to the Plan of the whole, would probably have excelled all the Edifices that are or ever were upon Earth. But the *Civil Wars* immediately enſuing put a Stop to the great Work, and left the Execution thereof to ſome ſucceeding magnanimous Prince to accompliſh; but what was worſe, at laſt it ſuffered the ſame Fate as the Old Palace at *Weſtminſter* had done, being reduced to Aſhes in the Reign of the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and has remained neglected ever ſince; only that our crowned Heads have made Grants of ſeveral Pieces of Ground, (whereon Cardinal *Wolſey*'s Palace ſtood) to divers Noblemen, partly as a Reward for the Services they had done the Crown at different Times; and among other Perſons of Quality, that have ſplendid Houſes there now, are his Grace *Charles* D. of *Richmond*, his Grace *John* Duke of *Montagu*, and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*, &c.



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" not his to diſpoſe of; and told him, he hoped the " Judges would not expoſe their Reputation, by putting " his Majeſty upon any illegal Methods; but, if the " King inſiſted upon it, let the Sin lie at his Door." To this the Judge made Anſwer, " That the King in- " ſiſted upon it:" Whereupon the Cardinal ſigned the Deed; and the Judge poſted with it to Court. See *Cavendiſh*'s Hiſtory.

*The King quite mercenary.*

As ſoon as this Matter was ſettled the King, being determined to get all the Cardinal was poſſeſſed of into his Hands, ſent him the following Letter.

" *Moſt Rev. Father in God,*

" RIGHT Truſty and right Well-beloved, we " greet you well, and ſend unto you, at this " Time, by our truſty and well-beloved Chaplain, " Dr. *Incent*, your Vicar-general, a Commiſſion touch- " ing the Gift of Benefices and Offices within your " Dioceſs of *Winchester*, being, at our Denomination " and Appointment, deviſed by our Council: Where- " fore we will and deſire you to ſubſcribe the ſame " Commiſſion, and to ſeal it with your Seal; and " thereupon deliver the ſame to the ſaid Vicar-ge- " neral, which he ſhall uſe none otherwiſe, but ac- " cording to our Commandment and Pleaſure.

" Given under our Signet, at our Manor of " the *Moor*, the 29th Day of *March*."

This Requeſt *Wolſey* was obliged to comply with, and accordingly ſigned what the King demanded.

*Madam* Ann *becomes the only Favourite.*

Madam *Ann* had got ſo far the Aſcendant over the King, that nothing was now to be gained from him but through her Interpoſition; yet the King himſelf had ſome Remorſe in reſpect to his Proceedings againſt *Wolſey*; for, after he had reduced him as low as he thought neceſſary to break his great Spirit,

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rit, in order to make him ſome Amends, he would at times ſend him a comfortable Meſſage; and Madam *Ann* too, at the King's Entreaty, after ſhe had contributed all ſhe could to ruin him, once ſent the Cardinal a Preſent of a Tablet of Gold, that uſed to hang by her Side. This put *Wolſey* upon thinking, that ſome Service might be done him, through the Interpoſition of this Lady; therefore he writ not only to her, but to *Cromwell*; and, in his Letter to that Gentleman, intreats him to ſollicit the King to be gracious unto him, and to practiſe ſo as that the Lady *Ann* might mediate for him. *Cromwell*, in Anſwer to the Cardinal's Letter, ſays, "Mr. *Page* delivered the Letter "to the Lady *Ann*, but there is yet no Anſwer: She "gives kind Words, but will not promiſe to ſpeak "to the King for you." And, in another Letter to a third Perſon, *Cromwell* writes, "None dare ſpeak "to the King on the Cardinal's Part, for fear of "Madam *Ann*'s Diſpleaſure."

*The Cardinal reflects on his Diſappointment.*

After he found himſelf deceived, and that there was a further Intention of depriving him of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, the Cardinal ſaid, *God be my Judge, I never thought, and ſo I was aſſured at the making of my Submiſſion, to depart from any of my Promotions for the Rigour of the Law; for any Offence that can be atteſted againſt me deſerveth no ſuch Puniſhment, and ſo, truſting to the King's Goodneſs, I am come to this Point. I hope his Grace will conſider the ſame accordingly. I have had fair Words, but little comfortable Deeds. Thoſe Noblemen did otherwiſe promiſe to me, upon their Honour, upon the Truſt whereof I made the frank Gift of my whole Eſtate.* The Cardinal further hints in a Letter, "That, "when he ſubmitted and made a free Gift of all "that he had to the King, which he did at the Per-"ſuaſion of divers Noblemen, it was promiſed him,



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" that the King would make an Order for the Payment " of his Debts, and Maintenance of his Eſtate; yet " now he is in great Want of Relief."

*Still receives Meſſages from Court.*

He ſtill received frequent Meſſages from the Court, but more of them afflicting than conſolatory, his Enemies uſing all poſſible Artifices, having greatly reduced him, to cruſh him entirely. As the King had ſeized all his Eſtate and Effects, beſides his Colleges both at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, they laboured to prevail on him to convert theſe Colleges to ſome other Purpoſe, which was ſo ſenſible a Mortification to *Wolſey*, that he deſires *Cromwell* to be a Friend to his Colleges, and not ſuffer the Lands, applied thereto, as well by the Pope's as the King's Aſſent, to be converted to profane Uſes. To this *Cromwell* anſwered, " As " touching your Colleges the King is deter- " mined to diſſolve them, and that new " Offices ſhould be found for all the Lands belonging " to them, to intitle his Highneſs thereto, which he had " already drawn for that Purpoſe; but whether his " Highneſs, after the Diſſolution of them, means to " revive them again, and found them in his own " Name, I know not; wherefore I entreat your Grace " to be content, and let your Prince execute his Plea- " ſure." *Wolſey*, taking the Suppreſſing and Diſmembering of his Colleges very heavily, again earneſtly ſollicited *Cromwell* to endeavour to prevent the making void what had been authentically confirmed by the greateſt Authority on Earth, ſaying, " If ſuch a Thing was " done, it would be againſt the Laws of God and " Man." And he did not ſtop here, for he wrote to the King on that Head, uſing theſe Expreſſions, " I hum- " bly, and on my Knees, recommend to your Grace's " Charity and Goodneſs the poor College of *Ox-* " *ford:*" And ordered, that this Letter ſhould be preſented to the King by the Dean and Canons of the ſaid College; but it appears, that, notwithſtanding

*Cromwell's Letter to him.*

theſe

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theſe Applications, the King diſſolved the Colleges, and that at *Ipſwich* quite dropped, but the other the King founded a new, as is before-mentioned.

*The King ſeizes the Cardinal's Tomb.*

The Cardinal in his Proſperity, at great Expence, cauſed his Tomb to be prepared, which not being finiſhed before his Adverſity, *Antonio Cavallory*, a moſt exquiſite Workman employed about it, writes thus to him, "That for "gilding that Part of his Tomb, already done, being "the Half, he had laid out 380*l.* 13*s.* and therefore deſires to know his Pleaſure, whether he meant to "have the reſt of his Tomb perfected; becauſe, if he "did not ſo mean, he deſired the Cardinal's Leave, that "the Gilder might go Home to *Antwerp*, and that "the Carver might have the like Leave to return to "*Italy*." But, it ſeems, the King ſeized the * Tomb likewiſe, which made the Cardinal afterwards deſire to have it reſtored to him, to the Intent that he might order and diſpoſe the ſame for his Burial, *which is likely*, (ſaid he) *by reaſon of my Heavineſs, to be ſhortly.* Yet it ſeems this Requeſt was denied him, as well as that of Money to pay his Debts.

*The Cardinal's Patience.*

The Cardinal, being now fully ſatisfied of the Deſigns his Enemies had on his Life, uſed all wiſe and neceſſary Precautions, in order to fruſtrate them, and armed himſelf with ſo much Patience, that they could not provoke him either to ſay or do any Thing that might juſtly render him obnoxious. However, being ſtript of his vaſt Fortune, and the Proſpect of being yet more ſlighted, tho' undeſervedly, making deep Impreſſions on his Spirits, he fell into a dangerous Sickneſs much about the Time he wrote the Letter we have juſt mentioned to *Cromwell*, the King began now to relent, and Dr. *Butts* was by his Order ſent to attend him, who found him extreamly

* As his Majeſty had ſtript him of his very *Robes*, while *living*, he doubtleſs thought a needleſs *Covering*, when *dead*, would be unneceſſary, as a fine Tomb or Monument might be deemed.

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extreamly ill. Upon his Return to Court he reported, "That, if the Cardinal did not receive Comfort from "his Majeſty, he would within four Days be a dead "Man." When the King made Anſwer, "God for- "bid, that he ſhould die, for I would not loſe him "for 20,000 *l.* I pray you go to him, and do your "beſt Care to him." Upon which, Dr. *Butts* adviſing the King to ſend ſome Gracious Meſſage to him, his Majeſty took a Ring from his Finger, charged with a Ruby, upon which his own Picture was engraved, commanding the Doctor to deliver it to him, and withal to acquaint him, *That he was not in his Heart* * *offended with him for any Thing*, uſing other Expreſſions which diſcovered a friendly and tender Concern for him; and the Lady *Ann*, at the King's Requeſt, alſo ſent him Tokens of Favour. Upon receiving them, the Cardinal too eaſily apprehended the King and his Lady were ſeeking a Reconciliation with him; and ſoon after he was in a good Way of Recovery.

*The King grants Wolſey a Pardon.*

The King about *Candlemas* was pleaſed to grant the Cardinal a full and general Pardon. *Rapin* ſays, "Among "all the Pardons in the publick Acts, "there are none ſo full and particular as this, which "was done in order to relieve the Cardinal in ſome "meaſure from the Anxiety he had been under from "*October* to that Time, before his Pardon, he well "knowing, that he was ſubject to the Penalty of "perpetual Impriſonment, which ſeemed to him to "be equal, if not greater, than any Loſs he had yet "ſuſtained."

This Pardon was drawn ſo full as to take in the higheſt Articles charged on him; and that it was penned with the utmoſt Advantage and Strength of Law may be further proved from Sir *Edward Coke*'s Authority, which take in his own Words.

"The

* Then he had a very evil and ungrateful one.

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" The most *learned* * and beneficial Pardons, which " we have read, or do remember, were that to *William Wickham*, Bishop of *Winchester*, (for good Men " will never refuse God and the King's Pardon, be- " cause every Man does often offend both of them) " and the other to *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinal, which are " learnedly and largely penned."

Now the King gave him further Marks of his Friendship, and promised to restore to him the whole Revenues of the Archbishoprick of *York*; and at the same time sent him some rich Furniture for his House and Chapel.

After

* Articuli Pardonationis Reverendissimi Patris THOMÆ, Cardinalis, &c. 21 Hen. VIII. *Feb.* 12. †

* *The Articles in Cardinal* WOLSEY's *Pardon*, 21 Hen. VIII. Feb. 12.

*Omnimodæ Proditiones tam majores quam minores; Proditionum Mesprisiones & aliæ Mesprisiones;*

All manner of Treasons or Treacheries, as well High as Petty Misprisons of Treason, and other Misprisons;

*Legum subversiones, & earum illicitæ Extensiones;*

Subvertions of the Laws, and illegal Extentions thereof;

*Outlagarum quæcunque;*

All Outlawries;

*Intrusiones & ingressus in temporalia Archiepiscopatuum, Episcopatuum, Abbatiarum, Prioratuum, sive aliarum Domorum Religiosarum, infra Regnum Angliæ;*

Intrusions and Invasions on the Temporalities of Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbeys, Priories, or other Religious Houses, within the Kingdom of *England*;

*Provisiones Bullarum circa Executionem Officii Legationis de Latere, contra formam Statuti de provisoribus.*

Procuring Bulls relating to the Execution of the Legatine Office, contrary to the Form of the Statute of Provisors.

*Concessio quod præfatus* THOMAS *Cardinalis omni pardonatione & gratia gaudeat, populo Regni* ANGLIÆ *in aliquo parliamento concessa;*

That the said Cardinal, *Thomas*, may enjoy all manner of Pardons and Graces, granted to the People of the Kingdom of *England* in any Parliament;

*Donatio Archiepiscopatus* EBORACENSIS *cum pertinentiis.*

A Grant of the Archbishoprick of YORK with its Appurtenances.

† Cotton. Libr. Julius I. fol. 271. Ann. Dom. 1529.

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*Another Letter from* Cromwell *to the Cardinal.*

After the Cardinal had obtained this Pardon, and other Marks of Favour from the King, *Cromwell* writ a Letter to him, wherein he ſays, "Touching the Proceſs "againſt your Grace out of the *Exchequer*, and all "other Matters and Suits brought againſt you, I "have pleaded your Pardon, which is allowed in "all the King's Courts, and by the ſame your Grace "is diſcharged of all manner of Cauſes at the King's "Suit."

*His Complaint in his Letters to* Cromwell.

*Wolſey* ſoon after writ, "That he "hoped the King, to whom I have "given all my Goods and Revenues, "will pay my Debts, which may be "done by the Arrears of my Penſion out of *France* for "the Year by paſt." But we do not find much heed was given to this Letter, except that ſoon after the King was pleaſed to ſend him four Loads more of rich Furniture unknown to the Lords of the Council: (So that the Reader may eaſily gueſs the Condition *Wolſey* was in, from *October* to the time he received the firſt Supply.) This Preſent was very acceptable to him; and in a ſhort time he writ again to *Cromwell*, and tells him, "My Fever is ſomewhat aſ-"ſuaged, and the black Humour alſo; howbeit I am "entering into the Kalends of a more dangerous Sick-"neſs, which is the Dropſy; ſo that, if I am not "removed into a drier Air, and that ſhortly, there "is little Hope." This had the deſired Effect; for, on Application, the King permitted *Wolſey* to remove to *Richmond*, and alſo ſent him ſome Money.

*His Enemies alarmed at the Favours ſhewn him.*

The Favours, which had been lately ſhewn to his Eminence, greatly alarmed his Enemies; and, as he was ſo near the Court, they likewiſe feared his Majeſty might, on one Occaſion or other, be moved to viſit, or perhaps re-call him; therefore they ſollicited the King to ſend him down to his Province in the *North*, con-

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concealing the true Reaſon of their Application, (as is uſual with Miniſters, who would cover their private Deſigns under the Umbrage of publick Good) but pretending, that his Preſence would be neceſſary towards compoſing certain Animoſities in that Country. The King, upon this ſpecious Suggeſtion, conſented to the Propoſal, and *Cromwell* was commanded, by the Duke of *Norfolk*, to acquaint his Maſter, that he muſt think of repairing to his Charge at *York*.

*Wolſey prepares to proceed to* York.

This Meſſage the Cardinal did not reliſh; however, as he found his Reſidence at *Richmond* was diſagreeable to the Courtiers, he offered to remove to *Wincheſter*: But this did not give Content to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his other Enemies; for *Wolſey* received for Anſwer, that he muſt immediately prepare for his ſetting out into the *North*. Upon this ſeveral Petitions were preferred to the King to allow him Part of the Revenues of *Wincheſter* and *St. Albans*, and other Matters, in order to enable him to proceed on his Journey, which were promiſed him.

*Writes to his Steward.*

There are now in Being, Letters from the Cardinal to his Steward, *Robert Brown* at *Southwell*, wherein his Grace takes notice, that ſhortly he intended to ſet out for his Seat there, and therefore orders him to ſee the Houſe compleatly fitted up, and to buy in Corn, ready to make Bread for the Family.

*The Steward's Anſwer.*

*Brown* anſwered, as appears from a Letter in the *Exchequer Record-office*, to this Effect, "That Mr. *Holgil*, the Surveyor, "had covered the Houſe in, and done other Mat-"ters; but, as to himſelf, he was grown old, and did "not now underſtand buying of Corn." From the wording of the Letter it appears but too plain, that, as his Maſter's Affairs were in a very unhappy Situation, he did not care to truſt him.



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*The* Church Hiſtorian's *Obſervations.*

The *Church Hiſtorian*, upon the Cardinal's being commanded to retire to his See of *York*, and his preparing for that Purpoſe, ſpeaks thus, "The whole Affair was managed by Mr. *Cromwell*, who, as he was a Perſon of great natural Parts, ſo now he began to have a conſiderable Power and Intereſt; for the Revenues of the two Colleges, conſiſting of the Spoils of a great Number of Monaſteries, committed to his Care * both before and after they were confiſcated by his Maſter's Delinquency, it was in his Power to ſhew Favour to all Degrees of Perſons, whoſe Concerns were intermixt with the Abbey Lands. This Occurrence may be looked upon as the firſt large Step towards this great Stateſman's Preferment, for every Day his Capacity became more and more known to the King; and he had learnt from the Cardinal how to ingratiate himſelf with the King, which was by punctually complying with his Will, † though to the Injury of his Conſcience; and as they roſe by the ſame Method, ſo they were alike Inſtances of King *Henry*'s Ingratitude by their Fall."

Though the King had conſented to the Cardinal's Removal to *York*, yet, no Time being fixed, he delayed his Departure, which ſo provoked the Duke of *Norfolk*, that, ſending for *Cromwell*, he ſaid to him in a great Rage, *Go, and tell thy Maſter, that, unleſs he quickly remove towards the* North, *I will tear him in Pieces with my Teeth.* When the Cardinal was informed how the Duke reſented it, he ſaid, *It is high time for me to think of moving:* But Money being neceſſary for ſuch a Journey, he diſpatches *Cromwell* to the King for

* Here the Gentleman is miſtaken, for *Cromwell* did not come into the Cardinal's Service till after theſe Monaſteries were given to *Wolſey* for the Uſes he afterwards appropriated them to; nor had *Cromwell* any thing to do with the Cardinal's College at *Oxford* until after his Maſter's Diſgrace.

† We alſo deny, that *Cromwell* was taught this by *Wolſey*. There was a wide Difference too in the Manner of their Riſing.

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for a Supply, as alſo to acquaint him, that the Want thereof had been the Occaſion of his Delay.

*Wolſey retires to a Monaſtery.*

In the mean time he removed from the Lodge at *Richmond* to a Monaſtery of *Carthuſian* Monks at *Shene*, near that Place. He took up his Lodging in an Apartment built by Dr. *Colet*, Dean of *St. Paul's*, whither that excellent Man retired to end his Days. While the Cardinal remained at *Shene* he applied himſelf carefully to the main Concern of his Salvation: He viſited the Church every Morning, in the Afternoon he conferred with ſome religious Monk that was moſt remarkable for Piety: He put on a Hair Shirt, and in other Reſpects conformed to the Rules of a *Monaſtick*.

Mr. *Cromwell* all this while was employed in making Preparations for his Maſter's Journey, and, having received a Sum of Money, by Order of the Council, as alſo a handſome Preſent from the King, who ſtill gave *Wolſey* repeated Aſſurances of Friendſhip, his ſetting out was fixed for *Paſſion Week*. The firſt Day he arrived at *Hendon*, a Seat belonging to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; the next Day he came to *Rye*, a Houſe of Lady *Parry*'s; from thence to *Royſton*, where he lodged in the Priory; the following Stage was to the Abbey in *Huntingdon*; from hence next Day he arrived at the Abbey of *Peterborough*. [His Manner of ſpending the Holy Week *Cavendiſh* relates, to whom we refer.] The *Monday* Night following he took up his Lodging at *William Fitz-williams*, * Eſq; formerly one of his truſty Domeſticks; and from thence he went to *Stamford*, and the next Day to *Grantham*, where he lodged at the

*He ſets out to his Charge at York.*



* A Mile and Half from *Peterborough*. From a Branch of this grateful Gentleman's Family we underſtand the preſent Right Hon. Lord Viſcount *Fitz-williams* is deſcended; who was lately married to Mrs. *Catherine Decker*, eldeſt Daughter of the Worthy and Hon. Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart.

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House of one Mr. *Hall*; the next Night he lodged at *Newark-castle*, and the Day following proceeded to his Seat at *Southwell*. He found it in a bad Condition; nor was himself and Family like to be in a much better State; for his old Steward had taken no care to lay in Provisions for them, which made others also unwilling at first to supply the Cardinal without being paid ready Money, in regard he was a Stranger in those Parts; and this had still a further Issue, as one Misfortune seldom comes alone, those to whom he owed Money were very importunate to be paid, as appears by a Letter from him to the King, now likewise to be seen in the *Exchequer Record-office*.

*Arrives at his Seat at* Southwell.

*His Letter to the King.*

After prefacing it with very great Observance and Respect, he says, "The 1000 Marks assigned me, for the Maintenance of me and my poor Folks, out of the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, is gone and spent. I have neither Corn, nor Cattle, nor any other Thing to keep House with, nor know where to borrow any Thing in these Parts. My Houses are, by the Oversight and evil Behaviour of such as I did trust, despoiled, run to Ruin and Decay, as well in the Roofs as in the Floors, being ready to fall down.

"My Creditors, to whom I am indebted, cry daily and importunately for Payment, not having wherewith to content them. Thus am I most pitiful, Sovereign Lord, wrapped in Misery and extream Need on every Side, not knowing where to be secured or relieved, but only at your Highness's most charitable and merciful Hand. The great Virtue, Nobleness, Pity, Compassion, and Charity, that I have always known to be in your most noble Heart, with firm Belief that I have, and ever had, that you would not suffer your poor Creature, (whom you made of Nought) to perish for Lack,

"who

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" who has ſo entirely loved and ſerved your High-
" neſs, embolden me to recur unto your excellent
" Goodneſs for ſome Comfort and Relief, moſt
" humbly proſtituting at your Feet, beſeeching your
" Royal Majeſty's Benignity to conſider the Premiſes,
" and to have Pity and Compaſſion on your poor
" Cardinal, who is, and ſhall be, during his Life,
" your faithful and moſt obedient Creature, daily
" Beadſman and Slave, as our Lord knoweth; to
" whom I ſhall inceſſantly pray for the Continuance
" of your moſt noble and royal Eſtate." *

*The King ſends him a Supply of Money.*

It is evident, that this ſubmiſſive Letter had ſome Effect; for the Cardinal ſoon after received a Supply of Money and other Things, that enabled him to provide for his Family, pay ſome of his Creditors, repair his Houſe, and get rid of his ungrateful Steward. At this Place he continued the greateſt Part of the Summer, where his Behaviour, even according, to his Enemies Account, was noble and edifying he being conſtantly viſited by the Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, and many of the Nobility, who had Occaſion to paſs near him, kindly entertained; for, as the Revenues of his Archbiſhoprick now began to come in, he was enabled to keep a good Houſe; and did daily diſtribute at his Gates great Quantities of Proviſions to the Poor: Thoſe that had lived ſeveral Years at Variance were reconciled by his Mediation; his Tenants he treated with great Humanity, and they in Return extolled him as a kind Landlord.

*Spends his Time commendably.*

About the latter End of Summer he removed from *South-*

* We would not have our Reader miſtake, by placing the ſubmiſſive Terms, uſed by the Cardinal in this Letter, to any Abjectneſs of Spirit in him, which were only conſiſtent to the Language uſed in his Time, as appears from the Letters now preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office*, and elſewhere.

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*Arrives at* Scrooby.

*Southwell* to *Scrooby*, another Place in his own Diocefs, where he remained till almoft *Michaelmas*, and gave there the fame Satisfaction both to the Rich and Poor; for his Cuftom was to vifit the little Parifh Churches, and one of his Chaplains generally preached; and fometimes he condefcended to dine at an honeft Farmer's Houfe, where he was commonly furrounded by a great Number of Poor, whom he frequently converfed with and relieved; by which Means he reminded his Clergy of a very material Part of their Duty.

*At* Cawood.

Two Days before *Michaelmas* he arrived at *Cawood-caftle*, an antient Palace belonging to his See, within a few Miles of *York*, which he found not in fo good Repair as he could wifh. This induced him to Caufe it to be re-edified, in which he employed at one Time 300 Artificers and Labourers, and at the fame time continued his ufual Hofpitality: Yet thefe good Qualities were mifconftrued by his Enemies about the Court, and imputed to him as Crimes; however, at *Cawood* he likewife foon acquired much Honour, Love, and Eftem from moft Perfons of every Diftinction.

*Mr.* Smythe's *Tranfactions on the Cardinal's Behalf.*

*Robert Smythe*, one of the Cardinal's Stewards, being intrufted, in his Abfence from *London*, with fome Matters of confequence, kept a clofe Correfpondence with his Mafter, and faithfully difcharged his Truft, as appears from many Letters that paffed between them, * one of which we have here

* 'PLeafe your Grace to underftand, that I have delivered your Letters to Mafter *Norris*, and Mafter *Hennage*, which I had no Anfwer of as yet; but Mafter *Hennage* faid, *He would to God that your Grace, would content yourfelf with that you have, and there is no doubt but that the King will be good and gracious to your Grace.* He further faid, *that your Grace maketh*

here introduced, as well as * one transcribed from the Original, now extant in the *Exchequer Record-*

'*maketh much more Building there than you do, because you have Men from* London. We say, *No:* Yet we cannot be believed in that Matter. And also you are spoke of, because your Grace should take Master *Doddington* to be Steward; for it is said, *That he is not beloved in that Country.* I made answer, *That he had never had the Staff in his Hand.* Also you are spoke of, that your Grace should give away an Office that you had granted to Master *Edwards.* I said, *It was not so, that ever I heard of.* Master *Stubbs* says, *That he hath no Money for your Grace, as he hath made answer to Master* Cromwell. As yet he is at *Kingston*; at his coming to *London* he will provide a Piece of *Baudkin*, or Cloth of Gold. Also Master *Eston* says, *That your Grace shall have no Wine of him this Year.* Also Master *Amyda* says, *He has no Plate for your Grace as yet*; but I perceive, from what he says, he will deliver none, unless your Grace send him old Plate. And also, as soon as here is any Ship from *Hull*, your Grace shall have *Quails* sent you. Other News here is, one *Henry Man* speaks much Honour of your Grace, in ordering yourself among the Gentlemen in the Country. I have made your Recommendation to all that your Grace commanded me, with many more that heartily asked for your Grace. Master *Treasurer*, Master *Comptroller*, Master *Secretary*, and the most part of the Gentlemen in the Court, when they saw me, came to know how your Grace does, and was right glad to hear of the Behaviour of your Grace. Master *Alward* is at *Ipswich*, but he hath made Answer for your Chapel-book to Master *Cromwell:* And as for more Books we cannot get of Master *Stubbs.* He says, *He is in* Premunire, *and cannot tell how he shall do.* The King's Highness hath given, to Master Secretary, *Hanword* Term of his Life. The King is at *Windsor*; how long he shall tarry there I cannot tell. Thus Almighty God preserve your Grace in good Health, and long Life, to his Pleasure. At *London*, the 10th Day of *June*, by your true and faithful Steward,

ROBERT SMYTHE.'

*Endorsed*, 'To my Lord Cardinal's good Grace.'

* 'PLEASETH your Grace to understand, that I have made search in the City, and also caused *Stephen Samble*, and *Thomas Yonge*, your old Servants and Workmen, as well as others of my Friends, to make search for Cloths of *Baudkin*, or Cloths of Gold, and we do find the City destitute of such Stuff, partly by rea-

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*cord-office*, from Mr. *Lawrence Stubbs*, another of the Cardinal's faithful Friends, and the Gentleman mentioned in Mr. *Smythe*'s Letter.

*Desires* Cromwell *to come to him.*

The Cardinal ſtill continued to keep a cloſe Correſpondence with his faithful Servant and Friend, *Cromwell*, and, as he was ſettled at *Cawood*, he required him to come thither, that they might tranſact ſome Affairs together, which were not proper to be communicated in Writing; and at the ſame time familiarly gives him an Account how he paſſed his Time, and what Satisfaction he took therein. To this *Cromwell* anſwered, by a reſpectful Letter, which is preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office*.

Cromwell's *Anſwer.*

In the firſt Part he gives his Maſter an Account what was ſaid of him at Court, and ſpeaks of his Retirement in the following Words.

" Your

' reaſon of your late great occupying thereof, and partly becauſe the King's Highneſs hath ſince taken much of the ſame kind; and alſo for that *Florence* and the Country thereabouts, from whence ſuch Cloths come, doth not, as Merchants ſay, make ſuch Stuff; but do now occupy themſelves more in War than in Merchandize. I beſeech your Grace take this for no Delay in me, for, though I be a Prieſt of ſmall Lands, and Promotions, and a poor Man, daily ſuſtaining great Charges by abiding here at *Weſtminſter*, in the King's Buildings, and alſo am at great Coſt in defending myſelf in an Action of *Premunire*, and otherwiſe, yet I ſhall not fail to purchaſe for your Grace the ſaid Cloths, though I ſhould for the Payment thereof lay to pledge and ſell all the Plate I have. Since your Grace has been in Trouble, I have ſold Lands to the yearly Value of 81. and ſpent the Money. Your Grace ſhall ever have me a true and faithful Servant to you, and daily Orator, as knoweth the *Holy Trinity*, who have your Grace in his bleſſed Tuition. Written at *Weſtminſter*, the 1ſt Day of *July*.

' *Your moſt humble Servant, and Orator,*

' LAWRENCE STUBBS.†

' *Weſtminſter*, the 1ſt Day of *July*.'

† This Gentleman was Preſident of *Magdalen* College in *Oxford*, and owed his Preferment to the Cardinal.

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" Your Grace is right happy, that you are now " at Liberty to ſerve God in your own Way, not " doubting but you have learnt by Experience, to " baniſh and exile the *vain* Deſires of this unſtable " World, that does nothing but allure every Per- " ſon therein, eſpecially ſuch as God has moſt en- " dued with the greateſt Gifts, *&c.* Wherefore, your " Grace being as you *are*, I judge you would not " be as as you *were* for a hundred times as much " as you were poſſeſſed of." Then he gives him a Relation of what was tranſacting both at Home and Abroad, and concludes with aſſuring his Maſter, " That he would render him all the Service he poſ- " ſibly could during the Remainder of his Life;" but excuſes himſelf from coming down to him, for that his Affairs would not permit him, and con- ceived he was much more capable of ſerving him by ſtaying at *London*, than if he was with him.

*The Cardinal's Enemies buſy in hurting him.*

The Cardinal received this Letter ve- ry kindly, yet at times he expreſſed ſome Uneaſineſs at his not coming to him: On the other Hand there were not wanting Perſons about the Court, who not only inviduouſly repreſented the Cardinal's publick and generous Actions, but, as they ſaw with Envy the Friendſhip that ſubſiſted between him and *Cromwell*, they likewiſe earneſtly endeavoured to break it, as ap- pears from what *Cromwell* tells his Maſter in another Letter.

Cromwell's *Letter to him.*

" That his modeſt Behaviour and " Humanity had gained him the Love " and good Reſpect of the Country, where he liv- " ed, as well as in the Court; but your Enemies * " deprave all. Sir, ſome there be that do alledge, your " Grace keeps too great a Houſe and Family, and " that you are continually building; for the Love of " God therefore have reſpect and refrain.



* *Creatures* not to be pleaſed in any Shape.

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" I am informed your Grace hath me in ſome Diffidence, as if I did diſſemble with you, or procure any Thing contrary to your Profit and Honour; I much muſe that your Grace ſhould think or ſuſpect it ſecretly, conſidering the Pains I have taken: Wherefore I deſire you to ſpeak without feigning, if you have ſuch Conceit, that I may clear myſelf. I reckoned that your Grace would have written plainly to me of ſuch Things, rather than ſecretly to have miſreported me; but I ſhall bear your Grace no leſs Good-will. Let God judge between us! Truly, your Grace ſomething over-ſhooteth yourſelf; there is Regard to be given to what Things you utter, and to whom."

It appears from this Letter that *Cromwell* kept certain Scholars in *Cambridge*; for he concludes with entreating the Cardinal to prefer them to Benefices that ſhould fall in his Archbiſhoprick.

*His Anſwer.* The Cardinal immediately anſwered it. Tho' *Cromwell* was full pert in his Letter " I ſuſpect not, ſays he, and that may appear " by my Deeds, for I uſe no Man's Help nor Counſel but yours. Complaint, indeed, has been made, " that *Cromwell* has not done me ſo good Offices as " he might, concerning my Colleges and Archbiſhoprick, but I have not believed them. It's true, " I have aſked of our common Friends, How *Cromwell* hath behaved towards me? and, to my great " Comfort, have found you faithful: Therefore I " beſeech you to continue ſtedfaſt, and give no Credit to the falſe Suggeſtions of ſuch as would make a " Variance between us, and by that Means leave me " deſtitute of all Help." This Letter had the deſired Effect, for they were thoroughly ſatisfied with each other.

*The King ſeeks to bring* Wolſey *into his Views.* During the Time that the Cardinal reſided at *Caſwood*, ſeveral Applications were made to him, as well by Promiſing as Threat-

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Threatning, to prevail on him to aid in concluding the Affair of the Divorce according to the King's Mind, without having any Regard to the Orders of the Court of *Rome*; but he positively refused to intermeddle any further in the Affair: Therefore his Majesty, finding him inflexible, determined his entire Ruin, as the Sequel shews.

*The Clergy of York attend the Cardinal.*

The Cardinal, not yet being acquainted with this extraordinary Resolution, continued to employ his Time agreeable to his Function. The Clergy of the Cathedral Church of *York*, consistent with their Duty and Good-liking, attended him, who treated them with a Respect that shewed their sacred Relation, declaring, "The most "special Cause of his Coming was to be among them, "not only as a religious Brother, but as a Father." This kind Treatment was most dutifully received, and, in communing with his Grace, they begged, "That he would come to the Cathedral at *York* to be "installed, according to the Custom of his Predeces- "sors." He took Time to consider of this, and at last consented to it; but insisted, "It should be done "without that great Shew and Pomp practised here- "tofore, because the Misfortunes he had met with "had sufficiently weaned him from the Grandeur of "the World."

*Prepares for his Installment at York.*

The *Monday* next after *All-Saints* Day was appointed for his Installment, and, contrary to the Cardinal's Knowledge or Desire, great Preparations were made at *York*, in order to receive him into that City in a Manner equal to his high Dignity, the Abbots, Priors, and neighbouring Gentlemen of the Country, sent in all Sorts of Provisions; so that, the Week before the intended Ceremony, every Thing was got ready for his Reception: But the preceding *Sunday* an Accident happened, which gave the Cardi-



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nal ſome Uneaſineſs. Being at Dinner, ſurrounded with his Chaplains and the reſt of his Attendants, Dr. *Auguſtine*, a *Phyſician*, cloathed with a heavy Velvet Gown, in ariſing up, puſhed againſt the Cardinal's Silver Croſs, placed at the Corner of the Table, which fell ſo heavy upon Dr. *Bonner*'s Head, one of the Chaplains, that the Blood came trickling down his Shoulder. Upon this the Cardinal, immediately retired to his Chamber, and, ſhaking his Head, ſaid, *I do not like this Omen.* *

*An ill Omen.*

It was obſerved afterwards, *That, about the ſame Hour as this happened at* Cawood, *Sir* Walter Walſh, *Knt. one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-chamber, ſet out from Court to attend the Lord* Piercy, *who became Earl of* Northumberland *upon his Father's Death, and they were directed jointly to arreſt the Cardinal upon a new Accuſation of High Treaſon*; and this Matter was tranſacted ſo privately, that neither Maſter *Cromwell*, nor any other of the Cardinal's particular Friends, had the leaſt Intelligence of it.

*Sir* Walter Walſh *ſets out for the* North.

Sir *Walter Walſh*, upon his Arrival in the *North*, communicated his Inſtructions to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who *very readily accepted* of this extraordinary Truſt; thereupon he and Sir *Walter* repaired to *Cawood* to put their Commiſſion in Execution, and came to the Cardinal's Seat, the *Friday* in the Afternoon before the intended Inſtallment, attended by ſeveral Horſemen.

The Earl and Sir *Walter* on their Arrival firſt went into the Hall, and demanded the Keys of the Palace from the Porter, who refuſing to deliver them with-

* This he expounded in the following Manner:

*The* Croſs *repreſented his Perſon*; *Dr.* Auguſtine, *who threw it down, he ſuſpected to be one of his Enemies, and an Informer*; *Dr.* Bonner's *(the Maſter of the Faculties) being wounded imported, that his Power was at an End, and that Death would quickly enſue.*

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without his Master's Order, to prevent any further Disturbance, they contented themselves with taking an Oath from the faithful Porter, "That no Person should "go out or come in at the Gates until he received "further Orders." The Cardinal all this while remained ignorant of what passed below, Care being taken that no one should go up to inform him; but at last one of the Servants found Means to acquaint his Master, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was in the Hall, who, *harmlessly* taking it to be only a friendly Visit, immediately rose from Table, and, they meeting on the Top of the Stairs, mutually embraced; but the *ungrateful, guilty* Earl, trembling, said, I arrest you of High Treason. Upon this the Cardinal demanded to see his Authority; for he could not at first be pursuaded, that a Nobleman, who had been educated in his Family, and so kindly used by him, could have been prevailed on to *execute so unthankful an Office.** The Earl refusing to shew his Commission, *Wolsey* with great Presence of Mind replied, *I will not then submit to your Arrest*; but, whilst they were debating together, Sir *Walter Walsh* came up Stairs, whom the Cardinal knew, and, he repeating what the Earl had before said, his Eminence readily surrendered himself to him; for, as he was one of the Bed-chamber,

*Earl of* Northumberland *arrests* Wolsey *of High Treason.*

* We can with Pleasure say, that in our Time we had an Instance of a very contrary Conduct, in an honourable Gentleman now in high Station, (when an *Impeachment* was exhibited in Parliament against a noble Lord, and a *Chancellor* too, on a Charge of *High Crimes and Misdemeanours*) who, among other Members of the House of Commons, was proposed to be one of the *Managers* to carry on the Prosecution; but, instead of *eagerly accepting* the Trust, he publickly declared the great Obligations he was under to the unhappy Lord, and begged Leave to decline it; being, doubtless, rather under a Concern, that there was any Occasion for an Enquiry of that Sort, than *officious* to be concerned in it. — An Example most worthy of Imitation, and which we hope will not soon be forgotten; and that it might not be so was the chief Motive of our making this *Memento*.

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ber, he had Power, as it was then held, by a verbal Order only, to arreſt the greateſt Peer of the Realm.

*Is in Cuſtody.* His Grace being now in Cuſtody,* *Saturday* was ſpent in packing up ſome of his Effects, and preparing for his Journey; but, as ſoon as the Country People were informed of what the Earl and *Walſh* had been doing, the Palace was ſurrounded by a great Number of Perſons, who made the Air ring with repeated Cries, *May the foul Evil overtake them, who are taking him from us!* And there they continued waiting, in order to ſee the Cardinal carried away, that they might take their mournful Farewel of him, which gave *Northumberland* and the Knight no little Uneaſineſs.

*Sets out for London.* On *Sunday*, the 1ſt of *Nov.* early in the Morning, he proceeded on his Journey towards *London*. As ſoon as he came out of his Gate the

* This baſe Tranſaction ſhews what Height of Rancour reigned in the Hearts of his imbittered Foes, and the Meanneſs of Soul they had reduced *Henry* the VIIIth to; eſpecially if we conſider, that this worthy Prelate was peaceably retired to ſerve God and his Flock, from the vain Pomps and Deceits of a moſt corrupted, fallen Court, and troubled not his Head with any of their Affairs; yet even here his Enemies could not help envying his Happineſs: For the Repoſe of this now inoffenſive Man, forſooth, they muſt diſturb; and what then? why arreſt and take him into Cuſtody, upon no leſs a Charge than *High Treaſon*, although the King had, no longer than the Month of *February* before, granted him as ample and full Pardon, for all ſuppoſed Crimes, which Lord *Coke* admits was penned as learnedly and largely as the Wit of Man could deviſe. In Fact, the Cardinal's noble and commendable Behaviour, from the Time of his Retreat to his being arreſted, no way beſpeaks Guilt; had it been otherwiſe, we are of Opinion, if he had given the Word to his Domeſticks, and the Country about him, both the Earl and the Knight would have found it no eaſy Matter to have carried him away in Cuſtody: He was conſcious of his own Innocence, and therefore quietly ſubmitted. But, happy for us, it is not ſo in our Days! How many great Men have we ſeen, who have given Diſguſt, or at leaſt been diſapproved of, that have been ſuffered not only to retire in Peace, but ſo to remain; nay, ſuch has been the prevailing Prudence and Clemency, ſome of them have been recalled, and afterwards filled high Stations with great Applauſe.

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the People, with great Lamentations, expreſſed their Concern at being likely to loſe ſo humane, ſo pious, ſo exemplary a Benefactor and Father; and with bitter Eclamations wiſhed, *That a Judgment might attend thoſe that were the Cauſe of his being taken away from them!* and thus they followed him for ſeveral Miles, until the Cardinal, with his uſual Serenity, deſired them to be patient, *for that he feared not his Enemies, but entirely ſubmitted to the Will of Heaven.*

*Arrives at* Pomfret.

The firſt Night he lodged at *Pomfret-Abbey*; the next night with the *Black Friars* at *Doncaſter*; and the Night following at *Sheffield-park*, where he remained eighteen Days. Here he was kindly entertained by the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, had great Reſpect ſhewn him by the neighbouring Gentlemen, who flocked in to viſit him; and among others his very honourable and grateful Friend *William Fitz-williams*, Eſq; paid his Reſpects to him, which gave his Eminence great Satisfaction. Whilſt at *Sheffield*, the Cardinal was taken very ill one Day at Dinner, inſomuch that he found a ſudden Coldneſs at his Stomach, which inſtantly ſpread itſelf through his whole Body; and, as he apprehended it to be an Oppreſſion occaſioned by Wind, he immediately ſent for ſomething to expel it; when the Earl of *Shrewſbury* ordered his own *Apothecary* * to prepare the Medicine, which gave him Eaſe, and, finding himſelf afterwards pretty well recovered, he retired to his Chamber.

*Is taken ill.*

When *Cromwell* was informed, that his Maſter was taken into Cuſtody, he expreſſed great Uneaſineſs, and ſpoke to the King in his Favour, who aſſured him, that, though he had cauſed him to be arreſted at the Importunity of ſome of his Coun-

* Quere, Whether this Apothecary did not make ſome wilful Miſtake in preparing the Medicine.

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Council, he ſhould be fairly heard before any Sentence ſhould be paſſed on him, and in the mean time ſhould be treated with the utmoſt Reſpect, and ſome few Days after his Majeſty directed Mr. *Kingſton* to repair to the Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s, in order to receive the Cardinal into his Cuſtody, and attend him to Town.

Mr. *Kingſton*, upon his Coming to the Earl's Seat, was acquainted with the Condition the Cardinal was in; therefore it was thought proper to defer Mr. *Kingſton*'s Waiting upon him till the next Day, and that the Earl ſhould firſt let him know it in ſuch a Manner as not to make him uneaſy. Accordingly, the next Day the Earl viſited the Cardinal, who he found very ill with a violent Purging: Nevertheleſs he told his Eminence, "That he was heartily ſorry for his "Misfortunes; that he had wrote to the King in his Behalf, and would omit "nothing that lay in his Power to aſſiſt "him againſt his Enemies; that he would have him "be of good Chear; and that, as he had often wiſhed "to appear before the King, he now ſeemed to have "an Opportunity, and he did not in the leaſt queſ-"tion but he would clear himſelf of the Accuſations "againſt him:" Acquainting him alſo, "That Mr. "*Kingſton* was juſt arrived, attended with twenty-"four Horſemen, who had been his old Servants "and Attendants, in order to conduct him to *Lon-*"*don.*" The Cardinal at firſt expreſſed ſome Uneaſineſs at mentioning *Kingſton*'s Name, becauſe he was Lieutenant of the *Tower*; but the Earl begged, "He "would be under no particular Concern on that Ac-"count; for he was ſure *Kingſton* was ſent down "to ſerve him, and that he himſelf knew he was one "of his Friends." Upon this his Eminence replied, I ſhould be glad to ſee him," and immediately Mr. *Kingſton* was introduced to him, where, after proper Sa-

*The Earl of* Shrewſbury's *Concern for him.*

*Mr.* Kingſton *introduced.*

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lutations on both Sides, Mr. *Kingſton* aſſured him, in the King's Name, "That his Majeſty had ſtill an "entire Affection for him, but he could not help "bringing him to his Trial, ſuch was the Importu- "nities of his Enemies, though the King did not "in the leaſt queſtion but he was able to clear him- "ſelf, and would come off with Honour: That his "Orders were to permit him to ſet out for *London*, "when he thought proper, and to take what Time he "pleaſed upon his Journey." To this the Cardinal replied, *I have a Diſtemper which will not permit me to make very much haſte; however, I will endeavour to be ready for the Journey to-morrow Morning.* But the Purging was ſo violent upon him in the Night, that he had near 50 Stools, which obliged him to remain there the next Day. The Morning following he began his Journey, though very weak and full of Pain, and by gentle Progreſs reached *Hardwicke-hall*, another Seat belonging to the Earl of *Shrewſbury*; the next Day he arrived at *Nottingham*, his Diſtemper ſtill increaſing; and the Day following came to *Leiceſter-abbey*, at which Time he could ſcarce ſit on his Mule. The Abbot and all the Convent received him honourably, and bid him welcome with great Reverence: To whom he made only this ſhort but moving Speech, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones among you*; and with great Difficulty he diſmounted his Mule. Being got to his Apartment he went to Bed, and with much Reſignation he ſubmitted to the Will of Heaven.

*The Cardinal's Reply.*

*He leaves the Earl of* Shrewſbury.

*His Speech to the Abbot at* Leiceſter.

On *Monday* his Illneſs was ſo far increaſed, that he could not live long. On *Tueſday* Morning early Mr. *Kingſton* went into his Room, and aſked him, *How he had reſted?* The Cardinal devoutly



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*His dying Words.* anſwered, *I only wait the Pleaſure of Heaven to render my poor Soul into the Hands of my Creator.* Upon which Mr. *Kingſton* would have comforted him, but the Cardinal gave him to underſtand, *That he had himſelf ſome Knowledge in Phyſick, and that his Diſtemper being a Flux joined, with a continual Fever, it was impoſſible for Nature to hold out much longer, conſidering it had attended him eight Days, and, as he had not during that Time had any Eaſe, he expected nothing but a Diſſolution.* Mr. *Kingſton* on this intimated, that he feared he wanted Courage to withſtand what he might expect. To this his Eminence replied, which *Cavendiſh* relates, concluding with theſe Expreſſions, *Mr.* Kingſton, *farewel, I can no more ſay, but I wiſh all Things to have good Succeſs; my Time draweth on faſt.* Having uttered theſe Words his Speech failed him, whereupon the Guards were called in to ſee him expire; and about eight of the Clock he died, being aſſiſted in his laſt Moments with the Prayers of the Abbot and the reſt of the Convent; and thus finiſhed his Days this great Prelate and Stateſman, *November* 29, 1530, being Sixty Years of Age, wanting four Months.

*And Death.*

*Expoſed to Publick View, tho' privately buried.* As ſoon as dead he was put into a Coffin, and the next Day laid with his Face uncovered, Liberty being given to all Perſons to view him, in order to prevent falſe Reports, as to his not being really dead: But, if the Cardinal's Enemies will have it, that he had taken Poiſon, though there were no Symptoms of it, *It is moſt probable,* (ſays the Author of the *Church Hiſtory*, and Dr. *Fiddes) that it was adminiſtred by ſome other Hand.*

After he had been publickly viewed for ſome time, and the Curioſity of the People ſufficiently ſatisfied, he

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he was, early in the Morning, on *St. Andrew's* Day, buried in the Middle of a Chapel at the Abbey in *Leiceſter*.

*His Remains ſearched after.*

Since the Diſſolution of the Abbey, even within theſe forty Years, great Pains have been taken to find whereabouts he was buried, ſeveral Parts of the Abbey has been dug, but to no Purpoſe, they having not been able to find his Bones.

*A Soliloque on his private Burial.*

Upon the Cardinal's being ſo privately buried Biſhop *Corbet*, one of his College, gives us the following Lines.

*Search, find his Name, but there is none: O Kings!*
*Remember whence your Power and Vaſtneſs Springs.*
*If not, as* Richard *now, ſo may you be,*
*Who hath no Tomb but Scorn and Memory.*
*And, tho' from his Store* WOLSEY *might have*
*A Palace, or a College, for his Grave;*
*Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all*
*Of him to be remember'd was his Fall:*
*Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous Weight*
*Upon him, but a Pebble, or a Quait.*
*If thou'rt thus neglected, what ſhall we*
*Hope after Death, that are but Shreads of thee?*

*Obſervations on* Polydor Virgil's *Character of* Wolſey.

*Polydor Virgil*, the Cardinal's implacable Enemy, when he comes to ſpeak of his Diſgrace and End, delivers himſelf in the moſt extravagant Terms, contrary to the Atteſtation of thoſe who attended him from his Adverſity to his Death. *Rapin* and other Authors, who have danced after *Polydor*'s Pipe, have not been much leſs virulent, and all this, truly, becauſe he was not to be cajoled into that good Opinion of *Polydor* he ſo much laboured for, (after he obtained his Liberty) by writing one of the



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moſt fawning Letters that ever was penned, nay, a very few Degree from Blaſphemy, and therein fully acknowledging his Offence; which, wrote in *Latin* with *Polydor*'s own Hand, is preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office*, a Tranſlation whereof we have introduced.*

But

* ' POLYDOR VIRGIL *to Cardinal* WOLSEY.

' *To the moſt Reverend Lord*, my God, *the moſt worthy Cardinal* ' *of* York.

' MOST great and moſt ' rev. Pontiff, and moſt ' firm Pillar of the Church of ' God, humble Commendations: ' And I your Servant, who ' ſtill am buried in the *Shadow of Death*, have heard ' of your extraordinary Fame, ' and with how much Applauſe ' of all Men your moſt rev. ' Lordſhip has been raiſed to ' the high Cardinalate Throne: ' So great is your Virtue, that ' you reflect more Luſtre and ' Dignity on that ſupream ' Order, than you receive there- ' from; I, among the reſt, do ' rejoice, and am heartily pleaſ- ' ed; but when it ſhall be law- ' ful for me, in your *Majeſty*'s ' Preſence, to *adore* you, then ' will my Soul be in Raptures ' with thee, *O God of my Com- ' fort!* Moſt rev. *Lord God of* ' *Forgiveneſs*, *God of Pity*, at ' length extend your Mercy ' on your poor Servant! Your ' Benignity lately forgave my ' Crime, vouchſafe, out of the ' Bowels of GOD's Mercy to ' forgive the Puniſhment like- ' wiſe, that your Gifts may be ' as *perfect* as your moſt rev. ' Lordſhip.

' Now the Time approaches ' when our Redeemer, CHRIST, ' deſcended from the Heavens, ' to reconcile Sinners to GOD ' *the Father*, vouchſafe, moſt ' great Prelate, in the ſame Man- ' ner, to take me from the *Shades* ' *of Death*, in this Seaſon of Grace, ' by the Right-hand of your ' Clemency, and to reſtore me ' to *Holy Light*, that, on the ' LORD's Birth-day, I, being like- ' wiſe, by your Means, *regene- ' rated*, may be able to return ' Thanks, and pray to the ſame ' Lord JESUS with Tranquillity ' of Mind, and a chearful Heart, ' for your moſt rev. Lordſhip, ' as I ſhall conſtantly do while ' Life remains.

' Therefore, good and moſt ' rev, Lord, *have Mercy on me* ' ſpeedily, who am afflicted and ' in great Diſtreſs: Save me, *O* ' *thou, who can'ſt ſave for ever!* ' Have Mercy, I ſay, becauſe ' the Seaſon for Mercy and Sal- ' vation draws near. Amen.

' *Your moſt rev. Lordſhip's*

' *Humble Creature*,

' POLYDOR

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But the Cardinal knew *Polydor* too well to truſt him, or employ him in any Affairs during the whole Courſe of his Miniſtry, which leaves us no room to wonder at what *Polydor* afterwards did, when he thought himſelf above the Reach of being called to Account for his unjuſt Reflections on him. We ſhall now leave this black, ungrateful Author, to attend to the Characters given us by three eminent Writers, a *Proteſtant*, a *Roman Catholick*, and a *Player*.

*Mr.* Collier's *Character of the Cardinal.*

" He maintained his Innocence with " the higheſt Solemnities, preſſed for a " Trial, and deſired nothing more than " to be brought Face to Face before his Enemies: " Theſe one would think are no great Signs of *De-* " *jection* or *Deſpair:* By the way, this Remark may " ſerve to clear him in ſome meaſure from the Imputa- " tion of *Cowardice*, which a learned Hiſtorian, [Biſhop " *Burnet*,] has thrown upon him. *Fox* charges the Car- " dinal with poiſoning himſelf; but, to do him Juſtice " againſt *Fox*, if there was any foul Play, 'tis moſt likely " 'twas received from thoſe who had him in Cuſtody. " The Cardinal was not altogether without his Failings; " he ſeems to have affected Pomp and ſecular Grandeur " too much; he held the Offices of *Lord Chancellor*, " the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, with the rich Abbey of " *St. Albans*, and the Archbiſhoprick of *York* all at " one Time; this, without doubt, was being too " great a *Pluraliſt:* He appears likewiſe to have " been too reſigned a Courtier, and over obſequious " to the King's Pleaſure; and this Exceſs of Com- " plaiſance he regretted at his very laſt Hour; and " to this ſort of Miſconduct a high Station lies not " a little expoſed. But then, he had the Mixture " of many good Qualities: He was a Perſon of " great Parts and Induſtry, had deſervedly the Re- " putation of an able Miniſter, and was courted by " the greateſt Princes: His Learning is ſaid to have

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" lain moſt in School Divinity, and Canon Law; " but, notwithſtanding this Character of Abatement, " we do not find he was ever taxed of being under- " qualified for the Chancery-bench. He is much " blamed by ſome Hiſtorians for Haughtineſs and " ſtiff Behaviour; but, if this had been his Fault, " it ſeems he left it off before his laſt Misfortune;* " for

* In further Support of what we have ſaid of the Cardinal's commendable Behaviour after his Retreat, we here introduce Copies of two Letters from him to Dr. *Gardiner*, Secretary of State, communicated to us by Mr. *Littleton*, (in whoſe Hands the Originals are) which are compoſed *literatim*, as a Specimen of the Spelling at that Time; tho' we have modernized the Spelling in moſt of the other Letters, to prevent any Perplexity to our Readers.

' *To the Rygth honorable* Mr. *Se-* ' *cretary, in haſt,*

' *My owne goode Maſtyr Secretary,*

' GOYNG this Day out ' of my Pue to Hey ' Maſſe, your Lettres datyd yeſ- ' ternygth at *London* wer dely- ' veryd unto me; by the con- ' tynue wherof I undyrſtand, ' that the Kyng's Hyhnes, of ' hys excellent Goodnes & ' Charyte, ys contentyd, that ' I ſhal injoy & have the Ad- ' mynyſtration of *Yorke* Minſter ' with the Gyftts of the Pro- ' motions ſpiritual & temporall ' of the ſame, reſervinge onely ' unto his nobyll Grace the ' gyft of v or vi of the beſt Pro- ' motions. And that hys Plea- ' ſure ys, I ſhal leve *Wynchefter* ' & *Saynt Albons*. As I would, ' Mr. *Secretary*, I cannot ex- ' preſſe howe much I am bown- ' dyn to the Kynge's Royal ' Majeſte for thys hys gret & ' bownteowſe Liberalyte, reput- ' yng the ſame to be muche ' more then I ſhal ever be abyl ' to deſerve. Howbeyt yf hys ' Majeſte conſyderyng the ſhort ' & lyttyl Tyme, that I ſhal lyve ' here in thys World by the ' reaſon of ſuch Hevynes as I ' have conceywyd in my hert ' wyth the ruinowſe of the olde ' Howſys & the decay of the ' ſaid Archbyſhopryck at the ' beſt to the Sum of viii C ' Marke yearly, by the reaſon ' of the Act paſſyd for Fynys ' of Teſtaments, wth alſo my ' long paynful Servys and poore ' Degre; and for the Declara- ' tion of hys Grace's excellent ' Cheryte, yf hys Hyhnes be ' myndyd I ſhal leve *Wynche-* ' *ter & Saynt Albon's*, wych I ' ſuppoſyd, when I maid my ' Submyſſyon, not offendying in ' my Trewth towards hys Royal ' Parſen, Dygnyte, or Majeſte ' Royal, I ſhould not, nor had ' deſyryd to have Life; and ' much the more knowying his ' Grace's excellent Propenſyon ' to Pyte & Mercy, & re- ' membryng the francke Depart- ' yng

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" for *Cavendiſh* relates, that, in his laſt Journey to the " *North*, he gained very much upon all Sorts of " People, and that he was remarkable, not only for " his Bounty and exemplary Life, but likewiſe for " his Condeſcenſion and obliging Manner. He ſeems " to have been a good-natured Man, by the Ten-

" derneſs

' yng with of all that I had in ' thys World, that I may have ' ſome convenyent Penſion re- ' ſervyd unto me, ſuch as the ' Kyng's Hyhnes of his nobyll ' hert ſhal thynke mete, ſo ' orderyng his that ſhal ſuc- ' cede unto my lyvyngs, that ' the ſame may be of lyck va- ' lew yeerly and exſtent. Where- ' as my truſt ys, that, and my ' Herte ſo gevyth me, that hys ' Majeſte wold make no Dyf- ' fyculte, yf yt may lycke yow ' friendly to propound the ſame, ' aſſuryng yow, that I deſyre not ' thys for any mynde, (God ys ' my judge,) that I have to ' accumulate Good, or deſyre, ' that I have to the mucke of ' World; for, God be thank- ' yd, at thys ower I ſet no ' more by the Ryches of & Pree- ' minences of the World, then ' by the duſt under my Fote; ' but onely for the Declaration ' of the Kyng's Favor & hyhe ' Cheryte, & to have where- ' with to do good dedys, & ' to helpe my poore ſervants & ' kynnysfolks. And further- ' more that yt wold pleaſe the ' Kyng's excellent Goodnes by ' your freindly Medyation, con- ' ſyderyng how ſlendyrly I am ' furnyſhyed in my Howſe, nowe ' ſpecially that the Apparell of ' *Wynchefter* and *Saynt Albons* ' ſhal be takyn from me to geve ' and appoynt unto me a conve- ' nyent for the ſame, *non ad pom- ' pam, ſed neceſſariam honeſtatem.* ' And yf I may have the free ' gyft and Dyſpoſytion of the ' Benyfyts, yt ſhal be gretly to ' my Comfort. And yet when ' any of the v or vi pryncypall ' ſhal Fortune to be voyd, the ' Kyng's Grace being mynded ' to have any of them, hys hyh- ' nes ſhal be as ſure of the ſame, ' as though they wer reſervyd. ' And thus by his nobyl & ' mercyful Goodnes delyvered ' owt of extreme Calamite, & ' reſtoryd to a newe Fredome, ' I ſhal, with God's Mercy & ' Help, ſo ordyr my Lyff, that ' I truſt hys Majeſte ſhal take ' ſpecial Comfort therin, & be ' pleaſyd with the ſame: *Spero ' quod hoc, quod peto, non vide- ' bitur magnum.* Howbeyt I ' moſt humbly ſubmyt and re- ' ferre all my Petytions, *imme ' noſtram Vitam*, to his gracyous ' Ordynance & Pleaſure, pray- ' ing yow to declare & fyg- ' nify the ſame, ſupplying myn ' Indyſpoſytion & lacke of ' Wyt, waynyd by Reaſon of ' my extreme ſorowe & hevy- ' nes, that the ſame may be to ' the Kyng's oſtentation, wher- ' in I had lever be ded then to ' offende in Word, Thowght,

' or

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" derneſs and Regret between him and his Family " at parting, and his declaring, *That no Circumſtance " in his Misfortunes troubled him ſo much, as his " being diſabled from making a Proviſion for his " Servants.*

" His

" or Dede. And as towchying " the grantyng of the Fee of one " C L. for Mr. *Nores* duryng " hys Lyff for hys good Servys " done unto the Kyng's Hyh- " nes, for the wych I have al- " ways lovyd him, and for the " ſingular good hert and mynde, " that I knowe he hath alweys " borne unto me, I am content " to make out my Grawnte upon " the ſame, ye & it wol pleaſe " the Kyng to inlarge it C L. " more; and ſemblebly cauſe " Mr. *Theſorer* hath the kepyng " of the Kyng's Game nygh to " *Fernam*, I wold gladly, if it " may ſtand with the Kyng's " Pleaſure, grawnte unto hym " the Reverſion of ſuch Reve- " nues of the ſayd Lands, ſithens " then with the --------- of " the Fee above that wych is " oldely accuſtomyd, to the " Sum of XL L. by the Yeere; " & alſo I wold gladly geve to " Mr. *Comptroller* a lycke Fee, " & to Mr. *Ruſſel*, another of " XX L. by the Yeere. Remyt- " tyng thys and all other my " Suts to the Kyng's Hyhnes " Pleaſure, Mercy, Pity, & Com- " paſſion, moſte humbly beſeech- " yng hys Hyhnes ſo nowe gra- " cyouſly to ordyr me, that I " may from henceforth ſerve " God quietly & with repoſe of " mynd, & praye as I am moſt " bowndyn, for the Conſerva- " tyon & Increaſe of his moſt " nobyl & Royal Eſtate. And " thus with my daily Prayer " I byd yow farewell. From " *Aſher* hapely with the rude " Hand and moſte hevy herte of

" *Yowr aſſured Frende*
" *& Bedyſman,*
" T. Car.lis Ebor.'

" *To the Ryght honorable and* " *my aſſuryd Frende Maſtyr* " *Secretary.*

" *My owne goode Maſtyr Secretary,*

" AFTYR my moſte herty " Commendations I pray " yow at the reverens of God " to helpe, that Expedition be " uſyd in my Perſuts, the De- " lay wherof ſo replenyſhyth my " Herte with Hevynes, that I " can take no reſte; not for any " vayne fere, but onely for the " miſerable condytion, that I am " preſently yn, and lyklyhod " to contynue yn the ſame, onles " that yow, in whom ys myn " aſſuryd Truſte, do help & " relive me therin. For fyrſt, " contynuyng in this moiſte & " corrupt Ayer, beyng enteryd " into the Paſſyon of the Dropſy

" *Appetitus et continuo inſomnio,*

" I cannot lyve: Whirfor of ne- " ceſſyte I muſt be removyd to " ſome other dryer Ayer and Place, " where I may have Comodyte " of Phyſycyans. Secondly, hav- " yng but Parte, wych is now " decayd, by viii C L. by the " Yeere, I cannot tell how to " lyve, & kepe the poore nom- " byr

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" His Schemes for the Benefit of Learning were " noble and well laid, as appears by his College " at *Oxford*; he likewiſe founded a College at " *Ipſwich*, for the Service of Religion and the " Poor: He likewiſe deſigned the Founding of a " So-

' byr of Folks, wych I nowe ' have, my Howſys ther be in ' decay, and of evry Thyng ' mete for Howſſold unprovyd- ' yd and furnyſhyd. I have ' non Apparell for my How- ' ſys ther, nor money to bring ' me thether, nor to lyve wyth ' tyl the ------ tyme of the ' Yeere, ſhall come to remove ' thether. Thes thyngs con- ' ſyderyd, Mr. *Secretary*, muſt ' nedys make me yn Agony & ' Hevynes, myn Age ther- ' with & Sycknes conſyderyd, ' Alas Mr. *Secretary*, ye with o- ' ther my Lords ſhewyd me, that ' I ſhuld otherwyſe be furnyſh- ' yd & ſeyn unto, ye knowe in ' your Lirnyng & Conſyens, ' whether I ſhuld forſet my ' Spiritualties of *Wyncheſter* or ' no. Alas! the Qualytes of myn ' Offencys conſyderyd, with the ' gret Puniſhment & Loſs of ' Goodes, that I have ſuſtaynyd ' owt to move pytiful Sutys; ' and the moſte nobyl Kyng, ' to whom yf yt wold pleaſe ' yow of your cherytable Good- ' nes to ſhewe the Premiſes af- ' tyr your accuſtomable Wyſ- ' dom & Dexteryte yt ys not ' to be dowbtyd, but his High- ' nes wold have Conſyderatyon ' & Compaſſyon, augmentyng ' my Lyvyng, & appoyntyng ' ſuch thyngs, as ſhould be con- ' venient for my Furniture, wych ' to do ſhal be to the Kyng's ' Highnes Honor, Meryte, ' & Dyſcharge of Conſyens, ' *& to your gret Prayſe for* ' *the bryngyng of the ſame to* ' *paſſe for your old Brynger up* ' *and lovying Frende* Thys Kynd- ' nes exhibite from the Kyng's ' Hyghnes ſhal prolong my ' Lyff for ſome lytyl whyl, ' thow yt ſhal not be long, by ' the Meane whereof hys Grace ' ſhal take Profytt, & by my ' Deth non. What ys yt to hys ' Hyhnes to give ſome conve- ' nyent Penſions owt of *Wyn-* ' *cheſter*, & *Seynt Albons*, hys ' Grace takyng with my herty ' good wyl the Reſidew. Re- ' member, good Mr. *Secretary*, ' my poore Degre, & what ' Servys I have done, & how ' nowe approchyng to Deth, I ' muſt begyn the World ageyn. ' I beſech you therfore, movyd ' with Pity & Compaſſyon ' ſoker me in thys my Cala- ' mite, & to your Power, wych ' I knowe ys gret, releve me; ' & I wyth all myn ſhal not ' onely aſcrybe thys my Relef ' unto yow, but alſo praye to ' God for the Increaſe of your ' Honor, & as my Power ſhal ' increaſe, ſo I ſhal not fayle ' to requyte your Kyndnes. ' Wryttyn haſtely at *Aſher*, with ' the rude and ſhackyng Hand ' of

' *Ycur dayly Bedyſman,*
' *And aſſuryd Frend,*
' T. CAR.lis EBOR.'



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" Society in *London*, for the *Civil* and *Canon Law*: " For this Purpoſe he projected the building a fine " Stone College: The famous Antiquary, Sir *Tho-* " *mas Cotton*, ſaw the Model of this Structure. He " built the greateſt Part of *White-hall*, and *Hampton-* " *court* entirely. The Monument of Braſs, which " he left imperfect, was a Work of extraordinary " Curioſity and Expence. 'Tis not certain, whether " he deſigned this *Mauſoleum* for the King, or him- " ſelf. He came into the World with no Advantage " of Family, his Father being but a poor Man in " *Ipſwich*: But *Cavendiſh* ſays nothing of his being a " *Butcher*. While the Cardinal ſat at the Helm " the Kingdom held on in a Courſe of Proſperity, " and the publick Motions were ſteady and ſtrong; " but not long after the Government grew perplexed " and inacceptable, and the Face of Things were " much altered both at Home and Abroad; and, to " ſpeak ſoftly, it muſt be ſaid, *The King cruſhed this* " *Miniſter with a very indifferent Grace.*"

*Church Hiſtorian.* " It is a difficult Matter to give a " Character of this great Man, without " diſpleaſing almoſt all Sorts of Readers; " few Writers have done him Juſtice; they com- " monly diſcover both a great deal of Paſſion and " Prejudice in the Account they give of him; *Ca-* " *tho-*

Our renowned *Shakeſpear* gives an Account of *Wolſey*'s Death in a Scene, where he introduces Queen *Catherine*, (whom he calls *Catherine* Dowager) being ſick, led between *Griffith*, her Gentleman-uſher, and *Patience*, her Woman.

*Grif.* How does your Grace?
*Kath.* O *Griffith!* ſick to Death!
My Legs, like loaded Branches, bow to the Earth,
Willing to leave their Burdens; Reach a Chair—
So—now methinks I feel a little Eaſe. [*Sitting down.*
Did'ſt thou not tell me, *Griffith*, as thou led'ſt me,
That the great Child of Honour, Cardinal *Wolſey*, was dead?
*Grif.* Yes, Madam; but I think your Grace,
Out of the Pain you ſuffer'd, gave no ear to't.

*Kath.*

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" *tholicks* attack him as being the grand Promoter " of the Divorce; *Proteſtants* inveigh againſt him " as one of the great Enemies of the *Reformation*; " *Laymen* repreſent him as a proud Prelate, and " take an Occaſion to wound all the Clergy through " his Sides; the *Clergy* exclaim againſt him for his " exorbitant Power, which obſtructed the ordinary " Juriſdiction of the Epiſcopal Order; the *Monks* " were provoked with his Project of alienating ſo " much of their Lands; the *Nobility* deſpiſed him as " a Court-meteor of no ſolid Extraction; the *Com-* " *mon People* opened againſt him as the Author of " a great many Taxes, to ſupport the Pride of an " expenſive Miniſtry, and an arbitrary Prince. I " ſhall not pretend to determine how far the Car- " dinal was ſingular or reprehenſible in the Caſes a- " bove-mentioned: Thus much I dare venture to " ſay in general, *Never did any Stateſman manage a* " *Prince with greater Dexterity, and one who threw* " *ſo many Riders; none ever held the Reins with more* " *Steadineſs; he had a capacious Soul, repleniſhed with* " *the higheſt Ideas of Show and ſplendid Greatneſs.* " *No Subject ever appeared more like a King, or left* " *greater Monuments of a princely Genius. As* " *no Prelate poſſeſſed larger Revenues, ſo none em-* " *ployed*

*Kath.* Prythee, good *Griffith*, tell me how he dy'd,
If well, he ſtept before me happily,
For my Example.
*Grif.* Well, the Voice goes, Madam.
For, after the ſtout Earl of *Northumberland*
Arreſted him at *York*, and brought him forward
(As a Man ſorely tainted) to his Anſwer,
He fell ſick ſuddenly, and grew ſo ill
He could not ſit his Mule.
*Kath.* Alas, poor Man!
*Grif.* At laſt, with eaſy Rides, he came to *Leiceſter*;
Lodged in the Abbey; where the rev'rend Abbot,
With all his Convent, honourably receiv'd him;
To whom he gave theſe Words. " O Father Abbot!



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" *ployed them with greater Credit, both to Church and*
" *State. He was a Man of prodigious Parts, and was*
" *no leſs induſtrious to make them uſeful to Mankind:*
" *For he was Maſter of all thoſe Qualifications, which*
" *were capable of making him both agreeable and ſer-*
" *viceable to a Prince. He was perſonable, learned,*
" *eloquent, affable, penetrating, induſtrious, generous,*
" *and had the Intereſt of his Country purely at Heart.*
" *Nothing was wanting to compleat his Character, had*
" *not this noble Structure been erected upon the Baſis*
" *of an ignoble and obſcure Birth, which Cuſtom has*
" *made a ſufficient Conſideration to depretiate true and*
" *genuine Merit. If he gathered with one Hand, he as*
" *freely beſtowed it with the other. He entertained* 800
" *Domeſ-*

" An old Man, broken with the Storms of State,
" Is come to lay his weary Bones among ye;
" Give him a little Earth for Charity."
So went to Bed; where eagerly his Sickneſs
Purſued him ſtill, and three Nights after this,
About the Hour of eight, (which he himſelf
Foretold ſhould be his laſt) full of Repentance,
Continual Meditations, Tears, and Sorrows,
He gave his Honours to the World again,
His beſt Part to Heav'n, and ſlept in Peace.
*Kath.* So may he reſt, his Faults lie bury'd with him,
Yet thus far *Griffith*, give me leave to ſpeak him,
And yet with Charity; he was a Man
Of an unbounded Stomach, ever ranking
Himſelf with Princes: One that by Suggeſtion
Ty'd all the Kingdom; Simony was fair Play:
His own Opinion was his Law. I'th' Preſence
He would ſay Untruths, and be ever double
Both in his Words and Meaning. He was never,
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
His Promiſes were, as he then was, mighty;
But his Performance, as he now is, nothing.
Of his own Body he was ill, and gave
The Clergy ill Example.
*Grif* Noble Madam;
Men's evil Manners live in Braſs, their Virtues
We write in Water. May it pleaſe your Highneſs
To hear me ſpeak his Good now.

*Kath.*

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" *Domeſticks, whereof* 9 *or* 10 *were Lords,* 15 *Knights,*
" *and* 40 *Eſquires. The Clergy that were preferred*
" *by him were generally conſidered upon Account of their*
" *Parts and Merits; and the Poor, according to their*
" *Neceſſities, received more or leſs. He never engaged*
" *the King into any Alliance that was not for his*
" *Honour and Advantage: The Character of Juſt can-*
" *not be denied the Cardinal in all Affairs of publick*
" *Judicature. He laid the Foundation of two of the*
" *nobleſt Colleges in the World, had his Idea been pur-*
" *ſued. He eſtabliſhed ſeven Univerſity Lectures, and*
" *built the two Palaces of* White-hall *and* Hampton-
" court. *In fine he was as great Abroad, as he was*
" *at Home; for, while he was Chief Miniſter, he*
" *played*

*Kath.* Yes, good *Griffith*,
I were malicious elſe.
*Grif.* This Cardinal,
Though from an humble Stock, undoubtedly
Was faſhion'd to much Honour. From his Cradle
He was a Scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wiſe, fair ſpoken, and perſuading;
Lofty and ſour to them that lov'd him not,
But to thoſe Men that ſought him ſweet as Summer.
And though he were unſatisfy'd in getting,
(Which was a Sin) yet in beſtowing, Madam,
He was moſt princely. Ever witneſs for him
Thoſe Twins of Learning that he rais'd in you,
*Ipſwich* and *Oxford!* one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to out-live the Good he did it:
The other, though unfiniſh'd, yet ſo famous,
So excellent in Art, and ſtill ſo riſing,
That *Chriſtendom* ſhall ever ſpeak his Virtue.
His Overthrow heap'd Happineſs upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himſelf,
And found the Bleſſedneſs of being little:
And, to add greater Honour to his Age,
Than Man could give him, he dy'd fearing God.
*Kath.* After my Death I wiſh no other Herald,
No other Speaker of my living Actions,
To keep mine Honour from Corruption,
But ſuch an honeſt Chronicler as *Griffith*.
*Whom I moſt hated living*, thou haſt made me,
With thy religious Truth and Modeſty,
Now in his Aſhes, honour. Peace with him!

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" *played what Game he pleaſed upon two of the greateſt* " *Powers of* Europe, *who retired or approached ac-* " *cording as the Cardinal moved his Hand.* The Errors " of his private Life were in great meaſure Ca- " lumnies raiſed by his Enemies, upon his declin- " ing Fortune, and what publick Miſcarriages he was " charged with were entirely owing to a paſſionate " and ungovernable Prince; but it is hoped they " were all atoned for by a timely Repentance. " From the whole, it will appear how unreaſonably " ſome of our Hiſtorians are tranſported in his " Disfavour, eſpecially Mr. *Fox*, and his Copier, " Dr. *Burnet*."*

Bruyère. There is ſomething ſo very applicable, in one of Monſ. *Bruyere*'s *Fables*, to the Cardinal's Original and End, that we ſhall conclude with it.

" THERE HAS APPEARED IN THE WORLD, " FROM TIME TO TIME, SOME ADMIRABLE " EXTRAORDINARY MEN, WHOSE VIRTUE AND " EMINENT QUALITIES HAVE CAST A PRODI- " GIOUS LUSTRE, LIKE THOSE UNUSUAL STARS " IN THE HEAVENS, THE CAUSES OF WHICH " WE ARE IGNORANT OF, AND KNOW AS LIT- " TLE WHAT BECOMES OF THEM AFTER THEY " DISAPPEAR. THESE MEN HAVE NEITHER " ANCESTORS NOR POSTERITY, THEY ALONE " COMPOSE THEIR WHOLE RACE."

* *Hollingſhead*, *Hall*, *Grafton*, *Echard*, *Rapin*, and many others.

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# *MEMOIRS of King* HENRY *the VIIIth, from* WOLSEY's *Death to the End of his Reign.*

HENRY at last was become *Wolsey*'s Heir and Executor, and the Wealth he gained thereby was very agreeable to his voracious and extravagant Disposition. Hitherto, or at least to *Wolsey*'s Fall, the King's Reign had been glorious; but was much otherwise afterwards.

*The King takes Possession of* St. James's House. 1531.

This Year the King took into his Hands the Hospital of *St. James* near *Charing-cross*, which he obtained, as *Stow* relates, by allowing the Sisters of that House yearly Pensions for their Lives. As soon as the King was in Possession thereof he built a handsome Palace, and gave it the Name of *St. James's House*, which it retains to this Day, and also made the Meadows, that lay between this new Palace and *White-hall*, into a Park, planted it with Trees, and walled it round; yet it has ever since been open for all People to walk in at convenient Times, which, doubtless, greatly contributes to the Health of the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, &c.

*The Parliament meets.* 1532.

And as the King found he could not obtain what he hoped for from *Rome*, he called a Parliament, which met on the 4th of *Feb.* who passed an Act, forbidding all Appeals to that Court, upon Pain of incurring a *Premunire*.

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He

Henry *intent upon obtaining the Divorce.*

He now purſued his Divorce, in which *Cranmer* had made a conſiderable Progreſs; but, the Pope abſolutely refuſing to come into the King's Terms, all Commerce between his Subjects and the Papal See was entirely forbid in very harſh Words, the King in his Proclamation calling the Pope *Tyrant, the Harpy of the World, the common Incendiary, and one utterly unworthy of that Title, he had vain-glorioufly uſurped, of Chriſt's Vicar.*

*Plunders the Clergy.*

Next he fell upon the Clergy, for that, without his Licence, as he alledged, they had acknowledged and been obedient to the Authority of the Pope, by receiving *Wolſey* as his *Legate*, for which Offence he had the whole Clergy condemned in a *Premunire*, though nothing was more plain, than *Wolſey*'s having the King's Authority for executing that Office. On this the Province of *Canterbury*, knowing his Majeſty's Temper, inſtantly made their Submiſſion, and obtained their Pardon upon paying 100,000l. of whom he alſo demanded, that they, aſſembled in Convocation, ſhould acknowledge him as *Supream Head of the Church*, which, though with great Difficulty, they at laſt conſented to. The Province of *York* likewiſe gained their Pardon, upon paying 18,840l. and acknowledging the King's Supremacy, which was ſoon after confirmed to his Majeſty by Act of Parliament.

Anna Bulleyn *created Marchioneſs of* Pembroke. 1533.

The King was pleaſed to create his lovely Favourite * *Anna Bulleyn* Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, gave her 1000l. a Year, and publickly declared,

* As a further Inſtance of the King's Love-ſick Paſſion for this Lady, before he enjoyed her, take the following Letters, the Originals of ſome of them being in the *Vatican* Library. Thoſe wrote in *French* were tranſlated after they were copied by Dr. *Fall*, Precentor of *York*, in the Year 1683.

*Let-*

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declared he would seek some other Way to obtain *Ease of Conscience*, being fully satisfied, by the Determination of the Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*,

*Letters written by King* Henry *the VIIIth to* Anne Boleyn.

'TO inform you what Joy it is to me to understand of your Conformableness with Reason, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain Thoughts and Fantasies with the Bridle of Reason I ensure you all the Good in the World could not counterpoise for my Satisfaction, the Knowledge and Certainty thereof: Wherefore, good Sweet-heart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your Doings hereafter, for thereby shall come both to you and me the greatest Quietness that may be in the World. The Cause why this Bearer staid so long, is the Business that I have to dress up Geer for you, which I trust, ere long to see you occupy, *and then I trust to occupy yours*, which shall be Recompence enough to me for all my Pains and Labours. The unfeigned Sickness of this well-willing Legate doth somewhat retard his Access to your Person, but I trust verily, when God shall send him Health, he will with Diligence recompence his Demur; for I know well where he hath said, (lamenting the Saying, and Brute, that he shall be thought Imperial*) that shall be well known in this Matter; that he is not Imperial; † And thus, for lack of Tyme, farewel. Written with the Hand which feign would be yours, and so is the Heart.

'H. REX'

'BEcause the Time seems to me very long, since I have heard from you, or concerning your Health, the great Affection I have for you has obliged me to send this Bearer, to be better informed both of your Health and Pleasure; particularly because, since my last Parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the Opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to Court with your Mother, nor any other Way; which Report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own Mind, that I have never committed any Offence against you; and it seems a very small Return, for the great Love I bear to you, to be kept at a Distance from the Person and Presence of the Woman in the World that I value the most; and if you love me with as much Affection, as I hope you do, I am sure the Distance of our two Persons would be a little uneasy unto you. Though this does



* *As much as to say he was of the Emperor's Party, and consequently against the Divorce.*

† *Here the King was mistaken.*

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*York*, the Univerſities both at Home and Abroad, of divers learned Men, not only his own Subjects, but Foreigners, " That the Pope, who had no Power over the

' does not belong ſo much to the ' Miſtreſs as the Servant. Con- ' ſider well, my Miſtreſs, how ' greatly your Abſence grieves ' me; I hope it is not your ' Will, that it ſhould be ſo; but ' if I heard for certain, that you ' yourſelf deſired it, I could do ' no other than complain of my ' ill Fortune, *and by degrees a- ' bate my great Folly:* And ſo, ' for want of Time, I make an ' End of my rude Letter, deſir- ' ing you to give Credit to this ' Bearer in all he will tell you ' from me. Written by the Hand ' of your entire Servant,

' H. REX.'

' THE Uneaſineſs, my Doubts ' about your Health gave ' me, diſturbed, and frightened ' me extreamly, and I ſhould ' not have had any Quiet with- ' out hearing a certain Account. ' But now, ſince you have yet felt ' nothing, I hope it is with you ' as with us; for, when we were ' at *Walton*, two Uſhers, two ' *Valets de Chambre*, and your ' Brother, Maſter Treaſurer, fell ' ill, and are now quite well; ' and, ſince we are returned to ' your Houſe at *Hounſdon*, we ' have been perfectly well, God ' be praiſed, and have not at pre- ' ſent one ſick Perſon in the Fa- ' mily; and I think, if you ' would retire from the *Surrey* ' Side, as we did, you would ' eſcape all Danger. There is ' another Thing that may com- ' fort you, which is, that in ' Truth, in this Diſtemper * ' few or no Women have been ' taken ill; and beſides, no Per- ' ſon of our Court, and few elſe- ' where, have died of it. For ' which Reaſons I beg you, *my ' entirely Beloved*, not to fright- ' ten yourſelf, nor to be too ' uneaſy at our Abſence. For, ' wherever I am, *I am yours*, ' and yet we muſt ſometimes ' ſubmit to our Misfortunes; for, ' whoever will ſtruggle againſt ' Fate, is generally ſo much the ' farther from gaining his End: ' Wherefore comfort yourſelf, ' and take Courage, and make ' this Misfortune as eaſy to you ' as you can; and I hope ſhortly ' to make you ſing for Joy of ' your Recal. No more at pre- ' ſent for lack of Time, but that ' *I wiſh you in my Arms, that ' I might a little diſpel your ' unreaſonable Thoughts.* Writ- ' ten by the Hand of him who ' is, and always will be yours,

' *My* H. REX, *lovely.*'

' BY turning over in my ' Thoughts the Contents of ' your laſt Letters, I have put ' myſelf into a great Agony, ' not knowing how to underſtand ' them, whether to my Diſad- ' vantage, as I underſtood ſome ' others, or not: I beſeech you ' now, with the greateſt Earneſt- ' neſs, to let me know your In- ' tention

* The *Sweating Sickneſs.*

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" the positive Law of God, could not, by his *Dis-*
" *pensation*, ratify a Marriage contracted between a



' tention as to the *Love between*
' *us two*. For I must of Neces-
' sity obtain this Answer of you,
' *having been above a whole*
' *Year struck with the Dart of*
' *Love*, and not yet sure whe-
' ther I shall fail, or find a Place
' in your Heart and Affection;
' this Uncertainty has hindered
' me of late from naming you
' my Mistress, since you only
' love me with an ordinary Af-
' fection; but if you please to
' do the Duty of a true and
' loyal Mistress, and to give up
' yourself, *Body and Heart* un-
' to me, who will be, as I have
' been, your most loyal Ser-
' vant, (if your Rigour does
' not forbid me) I promise you,
' that not only the Name shall
' be given you, but also that I
' will take you for my Mistress,
' casting off all others that are
' in Competition with you, out
' of my Thoughts and Affection,
' and *serving you only*. I beg
' you to give me an entire An-
' swer to this my rude Letter,
' that I may know on what,
' and how far I may depend.
' But if it does not please you to
' answer in Writing, let me
' know some Place, where I may
' have it by Word of Mouth,
' and I will go thither with all
' my Heart. No more for fear
' of tiring you. Written by the
' Hand of him who would wil-
' lingly remain yours,

' H. REX.'

' FOR a Present so valuable
' that nothing could be
' more, (considering the Whole
' of it) I return you my most
' hearty Thanks, not only on
' account of the costly Dia-
' mond, and the Ship in which
' the solitary Damsel is tossed
' about; but chiefly for the fine
' Interpretation, and too humble
' Submission which your Good-
' ness hath made to me. For I
' think it would be very difficult
' for me to find an Occasion to
' deserve it, if I was not assisted
' by your great Humanity and
' Favour, which I have sought,
' do seek, and will always seek,
' to preserve by all the Services
' in my Power; and this is my
' firm Intention and Hope, ac-
' cording to the Motto, *Aut il-*
' *lic, aut nullibi.* * The Demon-
' strations of your Affections are
' such, the fine Thoughts of your
' Letter so cordially expressed,
' that they oblige me for ever
' to honour, love, and serve you
' sincerely; beseeching you to
' continue in the same firm and
' constant Purpose; and assuring
' you, that on my Part I will
' not only make you a suitable
' Return, but out-do you in Loy-
' alty of Heart, if it be possible.
' I desire you also, that, if at
' any Time before this I have
' in any sort offended you, you
' will give me the Absolution
' which you ask, assuring you,
' that hereafter my Heart shall
' be

* *Either here, or no-where.*

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" Brother, and a Brother's Widow, it being forbidden " by the expreſs Words of the Scripture." *

The

' be dedicated to you alone, *I wiſh my Body were ſo too.* ' God can do it if he Pleaſes; ' to whom I pray once a Day ' for that End; hoping that at ' length my Prayers will be ' heard. I wiſh the Time may ' be ſhort, but I ſhall think it ' long, till we ſhall ſee one ano- ' ther. Written by the Hand of ' the Secretary, who in Heart, ' Body, and Will, is,

' *Your loyal and moſt*
' *Aſſured Servant,*
' H. *no other Heart,* A. B *ſeeks* REX.'

' DArling, tho' I have ſcant ' Leiſure, yet, remembring ' my Promiſe, I thought it con- ' venient to certify you briefly, ' in what Caſe our Affairs ſtand, ' As touching a Lodging for ' you, we have gotten one by ' my Lord Cardinal's Means, the ' like whereof could not have ' been found hereabouts for all ' Cauſes, as this Bearer ſhall ' more ſhew you. As touch- ' ing our other Affairs, I enſure ' you there can be no more done, ' nor more Diligence uſed, nor ' all Manner of Dangers better ' both foreſeen and provided for; ' ſo that I truſt it ſhall be here- ' after to both our Comforts, the ' Specialities whereof were both ' too long to be written, and ' hardly by a Meſſenger to be de- ' clared. Wherefore, till you ' repair hither, *I keep ſome- ' thing in ſtore,* truſting it ſhall ' not be long too. For I have ' cauſed my Lord, your Father, ' to make his Proviſions with ' Speed. And thus, for lack of ' Time, Darling, I make an ' end of my Letter. Written with ' the Hand of him which I ' would were yours,

' H. REX.'

' MIne own Sweet-heart, ' this ſhall be to adver- ' tiſe you of the great Aillingneſs ' that I find here ſince your De- ' parting, for I enſure you, me ' thinketh the Time longer, ſince ' your Departing now laſt, than I ' was wont to do a whole Fort- ' night: I think your Kindneſs ' and my *Fervence of Love* cauſ- ' eth it, for otherwiſe I would ' not thought it poſſible, that for ' ſo little a while it ſhould have ' grieved me: But now, that I ' am coming towards you, me ' thinketh my Pain's been half ' releaſed, and alſo I am right ' well comforted, inſomuch that ' my † Book maketh ſubſtan- ' tially for my Matter, in writ- ' ing whereof I have ſpent above ' 11 Hours this Day, which ' cauſed me now to write the ſhor- ' ter Letter to you at this Time, ' becauſe of ſome Pain in my ' Head, *wiſhing myſelf (ſpecial- ' ly in an Evening) in my Sweet- ' heart's Arms, whoſe pretty ' Duckys I truſt ſhortly to kiſs.* ‡ ' Written with the Hand of him ' that was, is, and ſhall be yours, ' by his Will,

' H. REX.'

* See Vol. II. p. 14.

† *The King it was ſaid, wrote a Treatiſe againſt the Pope's Supremacy.*

‡ *Very pretty Expreſſions, for a fond Youth of* forty-one, *run through the whole.*

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*The King married privately.*

The King's Flame now admitted of no longer Delay: Therefore he privately married *Anna Bulleyn* in *Jan.* before the Divorce was pronounced. *Rapin* charges *Anna Bulleyn* before her Marriage but with a ſingle Fault, namely, for yielding to the King before his Marriage with *Catherine* was nulled: "But it is, ſays this ſage "Hiſtorian, very difficult for a young Lady of her "Rank to have Reſolution enough to reſiſt the Temp-"tation of being a Queen, if ſhe could be ſo lawfully; "and it is likely the King made her believe ſo. "It cannot however be ſaid, that ſhe yielded to the "King's Deſire before Marriage. He eſpouſed her "the lateſt in *Jan.* and ſhe was not brought to "bed till the 7th of *Sept.** So that there is no-"thing in that which can give Occaſion for any Suſ-"picion."

*Warham dies, and Cranmer is made Archbiſhop.*

In this Interval *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, died, upon which the King beſtowed it on Dr. *Cranmer*, who was in *Germany* deeply employed in the King's Cauſe. *Rapin* relates it was with great Difficulty *Cranmer* was prevailed upon to accept of this See, and much more to take the accuſtomed Oath to the Pope, which he did not do until he entered a private Proteſtation againſt it: For, it ſeems, he was confirmed in it by proper Inſtruments in the uſual Form; which *Rapin* admits was by no means one of *Cranmer*'s commendable Actions. Be that as it will, he was conſecrated on the

* The good old Wives and Civilians have generally admitted, that a Woman ought to go nine Months with Child; but this more knowing Author has allowed *Anna Bulleyn* but a little above ſeven; which Inſtance, and many others ſhews us, that he had always by him *falſe Varniſhes* as well as *Dirt-daubing Colours*; which Materials, we hope, our preſent *New Compilers* of ENGLISH *Hiſtory* will be very careful not to make uſe of; for certainly one ſtript of them is much wanted, and will be very acceptable to the Publick.

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the 13th of *March*, though he was not put into Poſſeſſion of the Temporalities till the 29th of *April*.

*Archb.* Cranmer *gives Sentence for the* Divorce,

When *Cranmer* was once fixed in his See, the King was fully determined to end the Affair relating to the Divorce according to his own Liking; for that end he ſo ordered, that his new Archbiſhop ſhould demand his Leave to ſummon Queen *Catherine*, to appear at *Dunſtable*, in the Neighbourhood of the Place where ſhe reſided. * This the King readily granted, and his Grace gave her to the 20th of *May* to appear and anſwer for herſelf, which ſhe not doing, on the 23d of the ſame Month he gave Sentence, *That the King's Marriage with* Catherine *was null, being contrary to the Laws of God.*

*And confirms the King's new Marriage.*

On the 28th of the ſame Month the Archbiſhop, by another Sentence, confirmed the King's Marriage with *Anna Bulleyn*, and on the 1ſt of *June* ſhe was publickly crowned Queen. Thus ended the Proceedings on this notorious Divorce. †

Rapin's *Reflections upon the Actors in the Divorce.*

*Rapin*, in the Concluſion of the Account relating to the Divorce, ſpeaks of the ſeveral Parties concerned in it; the King he firſt blames, yet endeavours to juſtify him; the Pope he entirely condemns, as having acted upon a Principal of Self-intereſt; *Wolſey* he calls *a bold and daring Miniſter*; he gives the Emperor the Credit of acting the Part of a Man of Honour, out of Reſpect to his Aunt, without regard to Juſtice or Religion; Queen *Catherine* he alledges acted with Sincerity, though he believes ſhe was guilty of Perjury;

* *Amptbill.*

† It here appears, that a vaſt deal of Buſineſs was done in the Month of *May*; and, in a very few Years after, as much was done in the ſame Month of another Kind, which proved as fatal to *Anna Bulleyn*, as theſe Tranſactions were pleaſing to her at this time.

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jury; in order to make *Anna Bulleyn*'s Cauſe the better, he charges her but with one Fault, which we have before-mentioned; *Cranmer* he endeavours to acquit, as to what he tranſacted without the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, in regard he was inclined to be a *Lutheran:* The reſt, who were concerned in this Affair, he avers acted only from worldly Views, without having any Religion in their Heads.

*Princeſs Elizabeth born.*

On the 7th of *Sep.* the Queen was brought to Bed of a Princeſs, named *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards the famous Queen of *England* of that Name; ſhe ſwayed the Scepter for many Years with ſuch high Reputation, that her Name and Memory even at this Time is ſo greatly revered, that the Day of her Acceſſion to the Throne, the 17th of *Nov.* is annually celebrated. —— But ſhe died without Iſſue, and was ſtiled, the *Virgin Queen.*

*The Pope excommunicates the King.*

When the News of what had been tranſacted in *England* reached *Rome*, his Holineſs was extreamly angry, and immediately nulled the Archbiſhop's Sentence, and publickly declared, that the King himſelf was liable to an Excommunication, unleſs, by *Sept.* then next, he reſtored the Cauſe to its former State, which not being done, it ended in the Pope's formally excommunicating the King.

*The Parliament meets.* 1534.

In *January* this Year the Parliament met, and they opened their Proceedings in paſſing an Act to repeal one made in *Henry* the IVth's Time againſt *Hereticks.*

Another was paſſed whereby it was enacted, "That "all Convocations for the future ſhould be called "to meet by Virtue of the King's Writ only: That "the King ſhould name 32 Perſons of both Houſes "of Parliament, and a like Number from the Cler- "gy, to examine the Canons and Conſtitutions of "the Church, with Power to abrogate or confirm "ſuch as they thought fit."

Whilſt

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*The Pope's Power demolished by Act of Parliament.*

Whilst the Parliament was thus employed the King received the News of the Pope's Sentence against him; upon which, the whole Nation, as *Rapin* says, being tired of the Pope's Yoke, it was determined at once to restrain that formidable Power, under which the Kingdom had so long groaned. Be that as it will, it is certain, that soon after divers Acts * passed that abolished the Papal Authority in *England*.

On the 7th of *Sept.* Mr. *Cromwell* was made Master of the *Jewel-office*, and was greatly intrusted by

*1. To confirm the Statute for abolishing the *Annates*, or First Fruits.

2. That the Pope shall have nothing to do in nominating or presenting of Bishops; but that, when a Bishoprick shall be vacant, the King shall send to the Chapter a *Conge d'Elire*, and, in case the Election shall not be over within twelve Days after the Licence, it shall belong to the King to present: That the Bishop Elect shall swear Fealty to the King, and then be recommended by his Majesty to the Archbishop to be consecrated: That, if the Bishop elect, or Archbishops shall refuse to obey the Contents of this Act, he or they shall be liable to a *Premunire*. Moreover, all Persons are expressly forbid to apply to the Bishop of *Rome* for Bulls, Palls, and the like.

3. Peters-pence, all Procurations, Delegations, Expeditions of Bulls, and Dispensatives from the Court of *Rome*, were forbid, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was substituted instead thereof to grant the same, as should not be contrary to the Law, on Condition, that Part of the Money, from thence arising, should be paid into the *Exchequer*: That all religious Houses, exempt and not exempt, should be subject to the Archbishop's Visitation.

4. The King's Marriage with *Catherine* was declared null, void, and ineffective; and forbid, that any should stile her other than Princess of *Wales*, or the Widow Dowager of Prince *Arthur*: At the same Time the King's Marriage with *Anna Bulleyn* was declared valid, and the Succession of the Crown settled upon their Issue: That if any Person of what Quality soever should speak or write against the King's Marriage, he or she should be adjudged a Traitor to the King: That all his Majesty's Subjects, without Distinction, should be obliged to swear to observe and maintain the Contents of this Act: And therein was mentioned a List of the Marriages forbid by the Laws of God and Man; and that, if any such were then in being, they should be dissolved.

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by the King; among thoſe, who fell a Sacrifice to the new Laws, wherein the King was declared Head of the Church, were Sir *Thomas More* and Biſhop *Fiſher*; but the putting them to Death for this Matter was ſeverely cenſured beyond Sea, and the Loſs of them was greatly lamented by many in *England*.

*Sir* Thomas More *and Biſhop* Fiſher *beheaded.*

Queen *Catherine* ended her Days the Beginning of this Year, and we leave our Reader to collect her Character from what we have ſaid before.

*Queen* Catherine's *Death.* 1536.

This Year a new Scene was opened that proved likewiſe fatal to thoſe we are going to mention; for as the Sun, that often riſes moſt glorioufly, ſets in a Cloud; in like Manner, Lady *Anna* had not been Queen above three Years and four Months, before the King fixed an amorous Eye upon the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and reſolved to have her, and get rid of *Anna*: But a Divorce would not do, not having the Pretexts as in his former Marriage; therefore on *Mayday*, the King being at *Greenwich*, (where there was a ſolemn Juſt, in which *George* Viſcount *Rochford*, the Queen's Brother, was chief Challenger, and *Harry Norris* principal Defender) he ſuddenly left the Place, which greatly ſurprized the Company; though ſome ſay, it was owing to the Queen's letting fall her Handkerchief, and its being taken up by one, ſuppoſed to be her Favourite, who wiped his Face therewith: However, as the King was gone, the Queen retired.

His Majeſty, being arrived at *Weſtminſter*, gave Orders in the firſt Place for ſeizing the Queen's Brother and *Norris*, and they were committed to the *Tower*: Then the Queen was apprehended in her Barge paſſing to *London*, and, as the Lords were carrying her towards the *Tower*, they informed her of the



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Offence she was charged with. In answer she affirmed, she was wronged, and begged to see the King. This was refused, the Lords not having any such Commission. When she came into the *Tower* she fell upon her Knees, beseeching God to help her, as she was not guilty. —— *William Brereton*, and another Gentleman of the King's Privy-chamber, with one *Mark Smeeton*, were also committed.

*Queen* Anna *committed to the* Tower.

The Queen found it difficult to get even a Letter delivered to the King, Sir *William Kingston*, Constable of the *Tower*, at first refusing to carry it. However, on the 6th of *May*, he was prevailed upon to deliver the Letter.* But this made no Impression on the

* QUEEN *ANNA BULLEYN's last Letter to* KING *HENRY.*

'*SIR*,

'YOUR Grace's Displeasure, and my Imprisonment, are Things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a Truth, and so obtain your Favour) by such an one, whom you know to be mine antient professed Enemy, I no sooner received this Message by him, than I rightly conceived your Meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a Truth indeed may procure my Safety, I shall with all Willingness and Duty perform your Command.

'But let not your Grace ever imagine, that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not so much as a Thought thereof preceded: And, to speak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all Duty, and in all true Affection, than you ever found in *Ann Bulleyn*; with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your Grace's Pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my Exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an Alteration as now I find: For the Ground of my Preferment being on no surer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the least Alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that Fancy to some other Subject. You have chosen me, from a low Estate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond

† The Manuscript is still extant in the *Cotton Library*. *Otho*. 10.

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the King; for, *May* the 15th, she was arraigned in the *Tower*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* sitting as High Steward, assisted by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, an dother Peers, (and among whom, as some affirm, even the Queen's Father appeared) she was found *guilty of defiling the King's Bed.* Her Brother also with the others were tried, *&c.* found guilty of Treason, and, on the 17th, executed.

*Arraigned and convicted.*

*Her Brother, &c. executed.*

It seems the King had a mind to have made an Evidence of *Norris*, for whom he had some Kindness; but the Man declared he could not accuse the Queen, which being told the King, he cried out, *Hang him up then!*

'yond my Desert or Desire. If 'then you found me worthy of 'such Honour, good your Grace, 'let not any light Fancy, or bad 'Counsel of my Enemies, with-'draw your princely Favours 'from me; neither let that Stain, 'that unworthy Stain, of a dis-'loyal Heart towards your good 'Grace, ever cast so foul a Blot 'on your most dutiful Wife, and 'the Infant-princess your Daugh-'ter. Try me, good King, but 'let me have a lawful Trial, 'and let not my sworn Enemies 'sit as my Accusers and Judges; 'yea, let me receive an open 'Trial, for my Truth shall fear 'no open Shame; then shall 'you see, either mine Innocence 'cleared, your Suspicion and 'Conscience satisfied, the Igno-'miny and Slander of the World 'stopped, or my Guilt openly 'declared. So that, whatsoever 'God or you may determine 'of me, your Grace may be 'freed from an open Censure, 'and mine Offence being so law-'fully proved, your Grace is at 'Liberty, both before God and 'Man, not only to execute wor-'thy Punishment on me as an 'unlawful Wife, but to follow 'your Affection, already settled 'on that Party, for whose Sake 'I am now as I am, whose 'Name I could some good while 'since have pointed unto, your 'Grace being not ingnorant of 'my Suspicion therein.

'But if you have already de-'termined of me, and that not 'only my Death, but an infa-'mous Slander must bring you 'the enjoying of your Happi-'ness; then I desire of God, 'that he will pardon your great 'Sin therein, and likewise mine 'Enemies, the Instruments there-'of; and that he will not call 'you to a strict Account for your 'unprincely and cruel Usage 'of me, at his general Judg-'ment-seat, where both you and 'myself must shortly appear,



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*then!* as he, to be ſure, thought he juſtly deſerved, who, for the Sake of *Truth*, would be ſo impudent as to ſpoil all his Meaſures, by hindering him from having a new Wife.

The Queen's Death, as a Mark of particular Favour, * (as it was then termed) was reſpited till the 19th, on which ſhe was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower of *London*, where, before a large Company, among other Things, ſhe ſaid, *If any one intends an inquiſitive Survey of my Actions, I intreat him to judge favourably of me, and not raſhly to admit any hard, cenſorious Conceit.* Then, kneeling whilſt ſhe was at Prayers, the Executioner ſtruck off her Head with a Sword. Obſerve how ſwift the Wheel of Providence turned round this Month!

*Herſelf beheaded.*

The ſudden Fall of this Lady made many call to

' and in whoſe Judgment I doubt ' not (whatſoever the World ' may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known, ' and ſufficiently cleared.

' My laſt and only Requeſt ' ſhall be, that myſelf may only ' bear the Burthen of your Grace's ' Diſpleaſure, and that it may ' not touch the innocent Souls ' of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who ' (as I underſtand) are likewiſe ' in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ' Sake. If ever I have found ' Favour in your Sight, if ever ' the Name of *Ann Bulleyn* hath ' been pleaſing in your Ears, ' then let me obtain this Requeſt, and I will ſo leave to ' trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt Prayers ' to the *Trinity* to have your ' Grace in his good Keeping, ' and to direct you in all your ' Actions. From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower*, this 6th of ' *May*,

' *Your moſt loyal,*

' *And ever faithful Wife,*

' ANN BULLEYN.'

Mr. *Banks*, in his Tragedy of *Anna Bulleyn*, or *Virtue betray'd*, makes *Wolſey* to be the Author of the Diſgrace and Death of this Queen: Whereas nothing is more notorious, than that the Fact was quite otherwiſe; for the Cardinal had been gone to his quiet Repoſe near ſix Years before this. Therefore we preſume, this *Tragedian* muſt have picked up this Piece of Slander from ſome infamous Defamer, ſuch as *Polydor Virgil*, *Rapin*, and other Writers of the ſame Stamp.

* Great Favour truly, condemned the 15th.

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to mind her Behaviour to *Wolſey* in his Adverſity, her Caſe at laſt proving worſe than his, he only dying under his *undeſerved* Afflictions, but ſhe by the Hands of a vile Executioner; though, perhaps *falſly accuſed* too. But no ſooner was ſhe diſpatched than the Lady *Jane Seymour* was in Poſſeſſion of her Royal Bed.

*Lady* Jane *the King's third Wife.*

The People in general were greatly diſcontented at ſeeing ſo many Religious Houſes, which were had in high Veneration, deſtroyed; and the Nobility and Gentry took it ill, that the King ſhould have the Lands belonging thereto; for by this Means they were deprived of the Conveniency of providing for their younger Children, and of being well entertained when they travelled. The Poor murmured ſtill louder, becauſe Multitudes lived by the Alms which were daily diſtributed by thoſe Houſes. The Devout thought the Souls of their Anceſtors muſt now lie in Purgatory, ſince ſo many Maſſes, that were to be ſaid for their Deliverance, were aboliſhed by the Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries.

*The People generally diſcontented.*

The Court hearing of this, by *Cromwell*'s Advice, the King ſpeedily endeavoured to allay in ſome meaſure theſe Diſcontents, by ſelling the Lands at very eaſy Rates, and obliging the Purchaſers under a Penalty to keep up the wonted Hoſpitality. *

*The King ſells the Lands.*

Notwithſtanding this a Rebellion broke out in *Lincolnſhire*, headed by Dr. *Mackarel*, Prior of *Barking*, and the Revolters immediately ſent an Account of their Grievances to the Court, which related to the Suppreſſion of the Religious Houſes, as well as other Innovations. To which the King anſwered by a Manifeſto; the Duke of

*A Riſing in* Lincolnſhire.

* We cannot ſay how the Purchaſers firſt behaved, but it is very certain, that Time has worn out the Cuſtom.

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of *Suffolk*, who was employed to ſuppreſs the Rebellion, finding himſelf too weak to encounter them, entered into a Negotiation with the Heads, inſtead of fighting; and, upon the King's granting them a Pardon, the Uproar was appeaſed.

*Appeaſed upon Terms.*

This was no ſooner effected, but another broke out in *Yorkſhire*, of a much more dangerous Nature, headed by one *Aſke*, a Man of Authority and great Abilities. The Earl of *Shrewſbury* muſtered his Forces in the King's Behalf, but he was not able to Stop their Progreſs; for they took not only *York* but *Hull*, and their Chief even obliged the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Lord *D'Arcy* to accompany him.

*A ſecond Revolt.*

The Duke of *Norfolk* alſo marched to oppoſe the Revolters, but, his Forces being much inferior to them, he took the ſame Method as the Duke of *Suffolk* had done, by entering into a Treaty with them, and a Conference was held on both Sides at *Doncaſter*, and this at laſt happily ended, they accepted of a Pardon, and the King promiſing to redreſs their Grievance, every Man returned to his Houſe, and the King to taking the moſt effectual Meaſures for ſuppreſſing all the Religious Houſes.

*Suppreſſed.*

As the King broke his Word with his People, by not calling a Parliament in the *North*, according to Promiſe, a new Inſurrection was raiſed in *Yorkſhire*. Upon this *Aſke*, who commanded the Malecontents, was ordered to Court, and well received; but the Lord *D'Arcy*, who had received the like Order, not attending ſo ſoon as was expected, was ſent to the Tower.

*Breaks out again.* 1537.

Shortly after two Gentlemen of the *North*, *Nicholas Muſgrave* and *Thomas Tilby*, put themſelves at the Head of 8000 People, and appeared before *Carliſle*, which they endea-

*Suppreſſed, and many executed.*

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deavoured to take; but, being ſuddenly attacked by the Duke of *Norfolk*, they were entirely routed, and, though *Muſgrave* had the good Fortune to eſcape, *Tilby* and ſeventy-four others were taken and hanged on the Walls of *Carliſle*.

Sir *Francis Bigod* and another with a Body of People attempted at the ſame Time to ſurprize *Hull*; but their Leaders were made Priſoners, and ſoon after executed.

"Theſe Proceedings ſo angered the King, ſays *Rapin*, "that, notwithſtanding he had granted a Par-"don to thoſe concerned in the firſt *Yorkſhire* Rebel-"lion, he cauſed to be executed the Lord *D'Arcy*, "*Aſke*, and ſix of the Family of *Kildare*, in order "to ſtrike a Terror into the *Iriſh*, they ſeeming at "this Time much inclinable to rebel:" But the youngeſt Son of the Earl of *Kildare* had the Luck to eſcape, and fled for Refuge to Cardinal *Pole*, who was likewiſe under the King's high Diſpleaſure.

*Aſke*, having left the Court without Leave, was taken, executed, and hanged in Chains; the Lord *D'Arcy* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, the Lord *Huſſy* at *Lincoln*, who was no leſs than eighty Years old; Sir *Robert Conſtable* ſuffered at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmer*, Sir *Thomas Percy*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Weſt*, and *William Kumley* at *Tyburn*; and *Margaret Cheney*, alias Lady *Bulmer*, was burnt in *Smithfield*.

*Prince* Edward *born, and the Queen dies.*

On the 18th of *Oct.* Queen *Jane* died in Child-bed of Prince *Edward*, (afterwards King *Edward* the VIth) and for his Queen's Death the King expreſſed great Concern, a new *Love-fit* being not yet come on him.

Reginald Pole *educated at the King's Expence.*

His Majeſty, having cauſed his near Kinſman, *Reginald Pole*, to be educated in *Corpus Chriſti* College, *Oxford*, and made him Dean of *Exeter*, for his further Education ſent him to ſtudy at *Padua*, and allowed him

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him a handſome Penſion: But no ſooner did the King break with the Pope than *Pole* entered the Liſt, and wrote a Book in Defence of his Holineſs, which ſo chagrined his Majeſty, that he ſent to complain of it to his Mother in very ſevere Terms, and at the ſame Time ſent a Meſſenger to command him to return to *England*. Upon this *Pole*'s Mother wrote him a Letter, * the Original of which is preſerved in the *Exchequer Record-office)* and, as her Son did not comply with her Requeſt, the King not only withdrew the Penſion he allowed him, but alſo got him condemned in Form for High Treaſon.

*Condemned for Treaſon.*

*Made a Cardinal.*

After this he retired to a *Venetian* Monaſtery, where he was treated with the greateſt Reſpect both by the Court of *Rome* and the *Venetians*, being made a Cardinal, after which he continued Abroad till the Death of *Henry* the VIIIth.

It

* 'SON REGINALD,

'I Send you God's Bleſſing, more of my Charity than of your Deſerving. Where my Hope and Truſt was in God to have Comfort of you, the ſame by your Demeanour is turned into Sorrow. Alas! that you ſhould ever be the Cauſe that I, bearing towards you ſo motherly and tender a Heart, as I have done, ſhould for your Folly receive from my ſovereign Lord ſuch Meſſage, as I have lately done by your Brother; to whom, being a Woman, his Highneſs has ſhewed ſuch Mercy and Pity, which never lay in my Power, by no Service that I could do, to deſerve: But truſting that my Children ſhould, by their Service, do ſome Part of my bounden Duty for me; and now to ſee you in his Grace's high Indignation, unleſs God ſhew his Power upon me, I am not able to bear it. Truſt me, *Reginald*, there went never the Death of thy Father, or of any Child ſo nigh my Heart, as this hath done: Wherefore, upon my Bleſſing, I charge thee to call thy Spirits to thee, and to take another Way, and ſerve our Maſter, as thy bounden Duty is to do, unleſs thou wilt be the Confuſion of thy Mother.

'You

It cannot be denied but in this King's Reign the Ground-work of the *Reformation* was laid, yet it muſt be owned, after *Wolſey*'s Diſgrace, it was uſhered in by the Blood of many a ſincere Heart. It was a common Thing to have *Proteſtants* burned one Day for denying *the real Preſence in the Sacrament*, and the *Papiſts* hanged and quartered the next, for denying *the King's Supremacy*: Nay, at the ſame Time and Place, that three *Proteſtant* Divines ſuffered the Torments of the mercileſs Fire, three *Popiſh* Doctors were hanged; which made a *Frenchman* cry out, *Good God! how do the People make a Shift to live, where* Papiſts *are hanged and* Antipapiſts *are burnt?*

Henry's *bloody Reformation.*

*Baker* relates, "That Mr. *Lambert*, be- "ing accuſed of denying the real Pre- "ſence in the Sacrament, appealed to "the King, who was content to hear him. Where- "upon a Throne was ſet up in the Hall of the Pa- "lace at *Weſtminſter* for his Majeſty's Reception. "When the Biſhops had urged their Arguments, and "could

*The King turns Diſputant.*

'You writ of a Promiſe made 'of you to God. Son, that was 'to ſerve God and thy Prince, 'whom if thou do not ſerve 'with all thy Wit, with all thy 'Power, I know thou cannot 'pleaſe God, and your bounden 'Duty is ſo to do above all 'other: For who has brought 'you up and maintained you to 'Learning but his Highneſs, 'whom if you will not with 'your Learning ſerve, to the 'Contentation of his Mind, as 'your bounden Duty is, truſt 'never in me; and that you may 'ſo ſerve his Highneſs, I ſhall 'daily pray to give you Grace, 'and to make you his Servant, 'elſe take you to his Mercy.'

Upon the Death of Pope *Paul* the IIId, *Pole* was at Midnight choſen to ſucceed him, but he refuſed it, ſaying, *It was a Work of Darkneſs*; and the next Morning he found *Julius* the IIId in his Place. Queen *Mary*, upon her ſucceeding to the Crown, got him preferred to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and then he returned to *England*: But he died the very ſame Day Queen *Mary* did, *November* the 17th, 1558, and was generally ſtiled, *The modeſt and learned Cardinal*, and wrote ſeveral valuable Pieces now extant.



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" could not prevail, then the King took him in " Hand, hoping perhaps to have the Honour of con- " verting an *Heretick*, when the Biſhops could not " do it; and withal promiſed him Pardon, if he would " recant: But all would not do, for he remained ob- " ſtinate; the King miſſed his Honour, and the De- " linquent his Pardon, being ſhortly after drawn to " *Smithfield*, and burnt." Two others alſo were burnt for the ſame Cauſe much about the ſame Time.

*Preferments heaped on* Cromwell. 1537.

It was now a Thing grown common for the King to raiſe Perſons up to great Honour, that their Fall might be the greater. *Cromwell* was created a Baron, next Lord Privy Seal, and Earl of *Eſſex*, Knt. of the Garter, Vice-regent-general of the King's Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, ſitting in Convocation among the Biſhops, and ever preſiding over them; though he was a mighty Promoter of the *Reformation*, and, perceiving the King had a mind to ſuppreſs all the Monaſteries in general, (not ſo much out of Zeal for Religion as for the Lucre of their Revenues) he countenanced him in it. As the King and his Miniſter found, from the Rebellions that had ariſen on the Suppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries, that the Nation was generally diſturbed, though the King had got an Act of Parliament for what he had in View, *Cromwell* adviſed his Majeſty not to take that Way at firſt, but to proceed upon a general Viſitation of them. This being approved of, Commiſſions iſſued accordingly, and few were found ſo guiltleſs as to dare to withſtand their Proceedings, and the Licentiouſneſs of the reſt was ſo artfully divulged, that at laſt they were every where rendered ſo odious to the People, that never any Undertaking of ſo great Conſequence, and ſo full of Hazard, was ſo eaſily accompliſhed, as his general Subverſion of our *Engliſh* Monaſteries.

*The Monaſteries ſuppreſſed.*

*Cromwell*

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*Cromwell* further prevailed with the King to ſuppreſs the *Worſhipping of Images, whereby*, he ſaid, *God was robbed of his due Honour*, which the *pious* King would by no means ſuffer; yet, on the other hand, nothing but Perſecutions were for ſome time carried on againſt ſuch as did not aſſent to the new Eſtabliſhment; for this Year was principally employed in burning *Proteſtants* and hanging *Papiſts*, who refuſed complying therewith.

*Marquis of* Exeter *and others beheaded.* 1539.

The following Year our unhappy Country was likewiſe ſprinkled with the Blood of ſeveral worthy Men, and the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Lord *Montacute*, a Knight, with two Prieſts and a Mariner were condemned, and all executed for Treaſon; but Sir *Geoffrey Pool* found Means to obtain a Pardon, which was a Favour the King rarely granted to thoſe that tranſgreſſed his new Law.

*Sir* Nicholas Carew *beheaded.*

The laſt Executions had not been over long before Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Knt. of the Garter, and one that had been a great Favourite with our Monarch, ſuffered the unhappy Fate of the above Lords, being beheaded for Treaſon: And the next Man that fell a Victim to his Maſter's Paſſion was *Cromwell* himſelf, though he continued to do every thing he thought would pleaſe the King.

Notwithſtanding immenſe Sums had been brought into the King's Coffers from the Deſtruction of the Religious Houſes, our open-fiſted Prince did not keep it long there, for he was as laviſh in ſquandering it away, as he had been eager in having it collected; and, as the King conceived he had but little Occaſion for *Cromwell*, he ſuffered him to be arreſted at the Council-table, and carried to the *Tower*, to the *great Rejoicing*, ſays a Perſon of Honour, *of the* Popiſh *Party, and moſt of the Nobility, who hated him, becauſe, from a*

Cromwell *committed to the* Tower.



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*mean Original the King had advanced him to ſo great Honour.* But *Cromwell*'s Crime was that of daſhing againſt the Rock on which two before had ſplit; the King, pretending more than ordinary Love for Queen *Jane*, had not ſo ſoon provided himſelf with another Wife as he had been uſed to do; and *Cromwell*, willing to ſtrengthen the *Reformation*, adviſed the King to marry *Ann*, the Siſter of the Duke of *Cleve*, which Marriage took at firſt; but, after ſix Months Cohabitation, this Lady was repudiated; and, inſtead of the Title of Queen, was forced to be contented with that of the King's adopted Siſter. The Cauſe for the Divorce of this Lady was diverſly ſpoken of, but three in particular forwarded it much: *Firſt*, The King, having taken her unſeen, found himſelf miſtaken in her Beauty, for, it ſeems, Nature in that reſpect had not been very bountiful to her. *Secondly*, Some natural Defect in this Lady was a Bar to Enjoyment, which ſeems probable from her own Confeſſions; for in a Letter, wherein ſhe ſubmits herſelf to the Judgment of the Parliament, ſhe affirms, the King never knew her carnally. *Thirdly*, The King had another in his Eye, which he fancied better, who was the Lady *Catherine Howard*. Now *Cromwell*, having been the Promoter of the Match with *Ann*, and the King having a mind to *Catherine*, who, looking upon *Cromwell* as a Hindrance to her Advancement, became his Enemy, and perſuaded the King to get rid of him; and, though the Crimes objected againſt him were capital, yet, not being permitted to ſpeak for himſelf, the Proceedings againſt him cannot but be thought extreamly rigorous. In ſhort, the Accuſations againſt him were chiefly for an Uſurpation of Power, in ſetting at Liberty certain Perſons not entitled to it; granting certain Licences, and making ſeveral Commiſſions in high Affairs, without

Ann *of* Cleve, *the King's 4th Wife.* 1540.

*Does not like her.*

Cromwell *impeached.*

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without the King's Knowledge; of being an Heretick, and a Favourer of them; but that the Head of the Church, the Vicegerent in ſpiritual Affairs, ſhould be an Heretick ſeems very inconſiſtent: Though theſe were only pretended Crimes, to put the better Colour on the King's Injuſtice, his Miſtreſs hated him, and the King reſolved he ſhould die; accordingly he was beheaded on *Tower-hill* on the 28th of *June*, 1540: Dying with great Preſence of Mind, profeſſing himſelf upon the Scaffold a true *Catholick Chriſtian*, which being a general Term, it is uncertain whether he meant of the *Romiſh* or *Reformed* Communion. However, the King carried his Reſentment no further; for, before the End of the Year, he created *Cromwell*'s Son a Lord, and reſtored his Father's Eſtate to him.

*And beheaded.*

On the 30th of *July* ſix Prieſts were drawn upon Hurdles to *Smithfield*, where three were burnt, being charged with *Hereſy*; and the other three, being charged with Treaſon, were hanged, drawn and quartered.

*More Executions.*

Soon after the Lord *Leonard Gray*, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was recalled from thence, ſent to the *Tower*, and the next Year was beheaded for Treaſon.

On the 4th of *Auguſt* no leſs than ſeven Perſons were executed, for denying the King's Supremacy.

*Blood* and *Luſt* went hand in hand; for, whilſt theſe Executions were carrying on, the King married the Lady *Catherine Howard*, and on the 8th of *Auguſt* ſhe was publickly ſhewed as Queen, which Honour ſhe neither enjoyed long; for, on the 12th of *February*, 1541, ſhe was likewiſe beheaded for Adultery, which ſhe confeſſed.

Catherine Howard, *the King's 5th Wife.*

*Executed for Adultery.*

So that the Reader may here obſerve, that *Catherine* and *Ann* were the Ruin of both Maſter and Servant; that in leſs than

*Some Reflections on what paſſed.*

ten

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ten Years *Henry* had five Wives; and, what is more remarkable, that *Anna Bulleyn*, who was the Ruin of Cardinal *Wolſey*, *Cromwell*'s Maſter, was afterwards brought to the Block; that *Catherine Howard*, who was the Ruin of *Cromwell*, met with the ſame Fate, being accuſed, condemned, and executed for the ſame Crime, though perhaps not both equally guilty.

*Another Inſurrection.* The Severities that had been ſhewn to both *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* raiſed a general Diſcontent throughout the Kingdom, which cauſed a Revolt in *Yorkſhire*; but it was ſoon quelled, and, Sir *John Nevill*, with ſeveral other Gentlemen and Yeoman, were executed at *York*.

*Counteſs of Saliſbury butchered.* But this did not ſatisfy the King, for he cauſed the aged Counteſs of *Saliſbury* to be ſent to the Tower, it being Crime ſufficient for her to be of the Houſe of *York*; though ſhe was attainted of Treaſon, yet beheaded without being heard.

*An odd Act of Parliament.* 1542. Notwithſtanding all this the King's Mind ſtill run upon marrying again; but, as he had ſuch bad Luck with his Wives, the Parliament took the ſame into Conſideration; and, to prevent any more ſuch Diſaſters, they cauſed it to be enacted, "That, if the King "ſhould happen to marry a Woman that had been be-"fore incontinent, if ſhe concealed the ſame, it ſhould be deemed High Treaſon." But this Act, however well intended, did the King a Diſkindneſs; for (ſo few choſe to run the Hazard of entering into the Bands of Matrimony with him, who had got ſuch a Knack of diſſolving them, knowing in what a ſlippery State they muſt be in, if he, after receiving them to his Bed, ſhould, through any Miſtake, declare them no Maids) our Ladies at home refuſed his Courtſhip; however, the King wanting a Wife, he was pleaſed to look A-

*The Ladies highly diſpleaſed at it.*

broad

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broad for one this Time; for which Purpoſe he ſent an Ambaſſador to demand the Princeſs *Chriſtiana*, * Siſter to the King of *Denmark*, in Marriage, and withal writ her a Letter with his own Hand. The Princeſs anſwered the Letter, wherein "ſhe thanked the King for the Honour deſigned her, "which ſhe would gladly have accepted, had ſhe "been ſo happy as to have had two Heads; but, as "ſhe had but one, ſhe hoped the King would ex-"cuſe her for declining the Honour, being willing "to keep that on her Shoulders."

*A foreign Princeſs refuſes the King's Courtſhip.*

The King, finding himſelf diſappointed Abroad, fixed at laſt upon a Widow at Home, the Lady *Catherine Parr*, who being indeed a Lady of Integrity and Worth, and of Maturity of Years, he lived after Marriage well with her in Appearance; but, towards the End of the King's Life, ſhe was in great Danger of loſing hers; not for *Adultery*, but for a Crime he uſed to puniſh as ſeverely, *Hereſy*, of which ſhe was much ſuſpected by *Stephen Gardiner*, and others of the ſame Kidney; in which, by the King's Conſent, they had proceeded ſo far againſt the Queen, as to procure a Warrant to carry her to the *Tower*; but her prudent Submiſſion to the King took off the Edge of his Anger, and thereby not only prevented the Edge of the Ax coming too near her, but defeated the Deſigns of her Enemies.

*A Widow, his 6th Wife.* 1543.

*She is impeached for Hereſy.*

Theſe Years *Henry* continued to ſpend his Time in hanging *Papiſts* and burning *Proteſtants* that did not comply with the Acts and Orders he cauſed to be made for ſupporting his violent Meaſures. 1544. 1545.

About this Time the King was employed in carrying

* Whoſe Picture is ſtill in the Royal Palace at *Hampton-court*.

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ing on a War both againſt *France* and *Scotland*; but he ſoon clapt up a Peace with both Nations.

*The Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son in Cuſtody.*

The Year 1546 was uſhered in with ſpilling more Blood, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, one of *Wolſey*'s moſt inveterate Enemies, now felt the Effects of his Maſter's *reforming* Spirit; for he was committed to the *Tower*, as well as his Son, the moſt learned and noble Earl of *Surry*, who was tried and convicted of what was called Treaſon in thoſe Times, and, ſome Days before the King's Death, was beheaded, as would likewiſe have been the Father, had not that Exit prevented it.

*Burnet*, and other Authors have indeed talked of *Wolſey*'s abject Behaviour on his Diſgrace; but, give us Leave to ſay, no Man could behave with a meaner Submiſſion than the Duke of *Norfolk* did upon his being ſent to the *Tower*; for Proof of which ſee Lord *Herbert*'s Hiſtory, in which is likewiſe the following among many other Confeſſions.

*I* Thomas, *Duke of* Norfolk, *do confeſs and acknowledge myſelf moſt untruly, and contrary to my Oath and Allegiance, to have offended the King's moſt excellent Majeſty in the diſcloſing and opening of his privy Letters, and Counſels, at divers and ſundry Times, to divers and ſundry Perſons, to the great Peril of his Highneſs, and diſappointing of his moſt prudent and royal Affairs.*

T. N.

Could as much be ever found againſt *Wolſey?* If a Soldier behaved thus under Misfortunes, why ſhould we wonder at a *faithful Miniſter*'s being uneaſy, when his ungrateful Maſter was about to deliver him over to the Mercy of his Enemies?

The Duke of *Suffolk*, it is true, by his complying with the King in all his Humours, had the good Fortune to die in his Bed.

That

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That *Henry* was a Bloody King the many Executions, he cauſed to be made after he had diſmiſſed his moſt prudent and humane Miniſter, fully teſtify. Even the Death of *Empſon* and *Dudley*, at the Beginning of his Reign, reflect Diſhonour upon him, notwithſtanding it was done by the Command of his Father, whoſe Coffers had been filled by their Iniquities. But far leſs Cauſe had he to put to Death *Edmund de la Pole*, who had been made Priſoner by *Henry* the VIIth, though Reaſons of State might colour it. For the ſame bad Reaſons alſo was *Margaret*, Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* the IVth, though ſeventy Years of Age, condemned without a Hearing, and beheaded; becauſe, forſooth, there had been a Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*, and the King thought they had a Reſpect for this aged Counteſs, who was of the Blood Royal of the Houſe of *York*. The like Kindneſs he alſo ſhewed to the Marquis of *Exeter*, his firſt Couſin on the Mother's Side, being the Son of *Catherine*, Daughter to King *Edward* the IVth; and it was obſervable of *Henry*, the longer he reigned the more cruel he grew, and the more Blood he ſhed.

*A Recapitulation of the King's Actions.*

To ſum up all, in this King's Reign there fell two Queens, two Cardinals, (for Cardinal *Pole* ſtood condemned, though not apprehended) two Dukes, Marquiſes, Earls, and Earl Sons 12, Barons and Knights 18, which could not but much irritate the temporal Nobility; of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Monks, and Prieſts, no leſs than 77, which as much incenſed the Clergy againſt him; "and of the more Common Sorts, (ſays Lord *Herbert*) "between one Religion and the other, "huge Multitudes." And, having offended his *Roman Catholick* Subjects by diſowning the See of *Rome*, and his *Proteſtant* Subjects by rejecting the *Reformation*, he was brought at laſt to that unhappy Period to leave

*A Recital of his Cruelties.*



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the Crown to a Child, whoſe Condition was like to prove as uncertain under the Government of a Protector, as the Kingdom had latterly been under his, which, in caſe the Iſſue of the young Prince failed, was to deſcend to his Siſters ſucceſſively, of whoſe Legitimacy, Religion, and Title there were as many Scruples before they came to their Sovereignty, as their Father had conceived, in Point of Conſcience, or Honour, before he parted from their Mothers. As no Man could meaſure his Happineſs by his Greatneſs, ſo neither can they take any Scantling of his Greatneſs by any Thing the World calls Happineſs. In ſhort, *Henry* was in the latter Part of his Life as much hated, and feared, as he was in the firſt Part honoured, reverenced, and loved. On the 28th of *Jan.* 1547, he died, and was buried at *Windſor*.

*His Death and Burial.*

*His Character delineated.*

" To ſay much of him (as an *Anonymous Writer* has it) " were to make you " ſurfeit; Sir *Walter Rawleigh*'s Teſti- " mony of him is ſufficient. If the Pictures and Pat- " terns of a mercileſs Prince were loſt in the World, " they might all again be painted to the Life out " of the Story of this King. His vaſt Expence of " Treaſure and profuſe Bloodſhed made this King- " dom look with a ghaſtly Face; and, to expreſs him " fully, this remains with him to everlaſting, *That* " *he never ſpared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in* " *his Luſt.*"



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# *MEMOIRS of* FRANCIS *the Iſt,* KING *of* FRANCE.

IT is ſurprizing to find this Prince, though little favoured by Fortune, ill uſed by his own Mother, abandoned to imprudent Favourites, and betrayed by thoſe, whom he honoured with his moſt ſecret Friendſhip, could ſo glorioufly reſiſt the Emperor *Charles*, whoſe Dominions were much larger than *France*, who had more Men and Money, was a greater Warrier, a very artful Politician, and ſerved with Fidelity and Skill by his Generals and Miniſters, and who was aſſiſted, either by the King of *England* or other powerful Princes. Though we cannot help being of Opinion, if *Henry* had not took part with *Francis*, after the Battle of *Pavia*, purſuant to *Wolſey*'s Advice, that *Charles* would have overturned the *French* Monarchy, and after that very likley might have totally deſtroyed the Liberties of *Europe*.

*New League between* Francis *and the P. of the Empire.* 1531.

The moſt powerful Princes of the Empire this Year entered into a defenſive League againſt the Emperor, to which they deſired the Acceſſion of *Francis*, who not only engaged in it himſelf, but prevailed on *Henry* the VIIIth to accede thereto.

*An Interview between* Henry *and* Francis.

In Conſequence of this Treaty, *Henry* and *Francis* had an Interview at *Bologn*, near *Calais*, *Oct.* the 28th, when it was agreed, "That, in caſe the *Turks* "ſhould attack *Hungary*, whilſt the *German* Princes "ſhould be engaged againſt the Emperor, they "would



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" would raiſe and maintain a conſiderable Army in " *Hungary* at their common Expence."

*Francis annexes Brittany to his Kingdom.* 1532. The King this Year took a Journey into *Brittany*, when the States of the Country conſented to unite that Dutchy as a Province to the Crown of *France* * for ever, upon certain Conditions, after a Conference had been held on that Head.

It was obſerved about this Time, that, from the End of the Year 1528, to the Beginning of the Year 1534, the Seaſons in *France* were ſo exceedingly irregular, that they produced almoſt a general Famine, and at laſt a Plague, by which one third of the People periſhed.

*Interview between the Pope and* Francis, 1533. In *October* this Year the Pope in his Gallies arrived at *Marſeilles*, and there was magnificently entertained by the King, who upon this Occaſion ſhewed his uſual Generoſity to the Cardinals; " And made " the Beauty of his Mind (ſays a *French* Writer) to " outſhine the Luſtre of his Gifts:" They parted the 22d of *Nov.* well ſatisfied with each other, after the Pope had been pleaſed to diſpoſe of four Cardinal's Hats in Favour of *Francis*'s Recommendation.

*Who refuſes to break with the Pope.* 1534. King *Henry* very much ſollicited the King to break with the Pope, but *Francis* refuſed it, ſaying, *I am a Friend to the Altar.*

*Enters into a new War with Italy.* 1535. But ſtill his Mind run upon making Conqueſts in *Italy*, and therefore, turning his Eye upon *Milan*, raiſed a Pretence to quarrel with Duke *Sforza*; but, the Duke of *Savoy* denying him a Paſſage through his Country, he drew a Storm upon himſelf; for King *Francis* immediately ſent an Army to invade *Savoy*, under the Command of Admiral *Brion*. This

* See Vol. I. p. 104, 105.

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This General was no ſooner come into *Savoy*, but all the Places on this Side Mount *Cenis* opened their Gates to the *French*. The Duke, underſtanding that the Emperor was gone upon an Expedition to *Tunis*, endeavoured to ward off the Storm, (having not Troops ſufficient to make Head againſt the *French*) by offering ſeveral Conceſſions to them, which he at firſt refuſed to give, and they at this Time to accept of: And, what made the Duke's Affairs much worſe, his People, being greatly diſſatisfied with his Government, revolted and took part with the *French*. In this Diſtreſs, as the *French* were overrunning his Country, he ordered the Paſs of *Suze* to be guarded, in hopes to ſtop their Progreſs; but, it being reſolved on too late, the *French* continued their March and came before *Turin*, which immediately ſurrendered, and the poor Duke was obliged to fly to *Verceil*.

*The* French *Chancellor dies.*

On the 8th of *July*, *Anthony Duprat*, Cardinal Legate and Chancellor in *France*, died, "Much tormented, ſays *Mizeray*, "with Remorſe of Conſcience, as his Sighs and "Speeches made manifeſt; for, having obſerved "no other Guide or Law but his own Intereſt, and "the Paſſion of his Sovereign, it was he that took "away the Election to Benefices, and the Privi"leges of many Churches; it was he that pro"duced the Sale of Offices in Courts of Judicature, "and that taught them boldly to lay all Sorts of "Impoſitions on the Subjects." And, we are ſorry to ſay it, the ſame bad Diſpoſition has much prevailed in our own Country.

*A new one appointed.*

His Poſt of Chancellor was given to *Anne du Bourg*, who loſt his Life, in the Year 1538, after a very odd Manner; being with the King, who made his Entrance into *Laon*, there was ſuch a great Croud of Horſes that he was thruſt off his Mule, and trod under foot, where he died, and

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and this high Office was immediately given to *Charles Poyet*, Preſident of the Parliament.

*Duke of* Milan *dies without Iſſue.* 1536.

In the mean time Duke *Sforza* of *Milan* died without leaving any Children behind him, and, being the laſt of the famous and unfortunate *Sforza* Family, the Emperor took Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy, and, having it now in his Power, he made uſe of it afterwards as a Bait and Amuſement, to allure *Francis* the Remainder of his Life, tho' he never intended he ſhould have it.

*The Emperor arrives at* Rome.

The Emperor, on the Return from his Expedition to *Tunis*, repaired to the City of *Rome*, where he was very grandly entertained by that Court; and, being informed what *Francis* had been doing in *Savoy*, in his Abſence, he expreſſed great Reſentment; nay, he was in ſuch a Fury, that, in the Preſence of the Pope, the Court of *Rome*, and the *French* Ambaſſadors, he offered (to prevent any further Effuſion of Blood) to decide the Quarrel between him and *Francis*, by a ſingle Combat, in an Iſland, on a Bridge, or in a Boat. —— Bold Warriers indeed! —— "But the *French* "Ambaſſadors, ſays a wiſe Hiſtorian, had the good "Senſe not to inform their Maſter of it, ſo that this "Challenge likewiſe ſubſided."

*The Emperor challenges to fight K.* Francis.

*The Emperor invades* France.

But after this, when the Emperor had got his own Forces together, with the Aſſiſtance of ſeveral *Italian* Princes, he actually invaded *France* in Perſon, threatning nothing but Fire and Sword, and began with beſieging *Marſeilles*; though, meeting with a Repulſe, he was at laſt obliged to raiſe the Siege, and retire.

Francis *proclaims the Emperor a Rebel,* 1537.

The next Year *Francis* in his Turn fell upon the Emperor, but not by way of Challenge; he took the Means of Law,

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Law, ſummoning *Charles* as his Vaſſal, to do Homage for the Counties of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Charalois*, which he held of the Crown of *France:* This the Emperor not thinking proper to comply with, *Francis* cauſed him to be proclaimed a Rebel; but, before this Year expired, both Princes begun to be in a better Humour with each other.

*At laſt become Friends.* 1538.

For an Interview between *Charles* and *Francis* was agreed on at *Nice*, which was brought about by the Pope, who was preſent, and mediated a Truce between them for 20 Years, which put an end to the War.

*King* Francis *makes ſeveral good Edicts.*

King *Francis*, having by this reſtored Peace to his Country, made ſeveral excellent Edicts, particularly one, "That Cu-"rates ſhould keep a Regiſter of all Chriſtnings;" which the *French* Authors allow was taken from the *Engliſh*, who had ſet up the ſame Courſe by the Advice of the great Lord *Cromwell.*

*The Emperor paſſes through* France. 1539.

The Emperor, having an Occaſion to go into *Spain*, obtained a Permiſſion to paſs through *France*, the King giving Orders, that his *Imperial* Majeſty ſhould be moſt honourably received at every City, and that he might exerciſe the ſame Authority as himſelf.

*Makes his Entry into* Paris. 1540.

*January* the 1ſt, the Emperor made his publick Entry into *Paris* in great State, the two Sons of *France* riding on each Side of him; and, at his Departure, the King accompanied him to *St. Quintin*, and the young Princes as far as *Valenciennies.*

France *governed by Favourites* 1541.

The Emperor ſollicited the King to reſtore the Duke of *Savoy* to his Territories, which *Francis* at laſt complied with. But he ſoon grew jealous of thoſe about him, and, though three Noblemen had principally engroſſed his Favour, the Conſtable, the Car-

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Cardinal of *Lorain*, and Admiral *Brion*; yet the laſt, having got the Start of the other two, they contrived to ruin him, got him impriſoned, and, by the Means of Chancellor *Poyet*, was brought to his Trial, by which he was ſo far condemned, that he was diveſted of his Offices, and declared unworthy of holding any for the future, fined 70,000 Crowns, and ſhut up in the *Baſtile*.

*Admiral* Brion *dies of Grief.* 1552.

Some Months after the Admiral obtained a Review of the Cauſe, and was cleared from the Charge brought againſt him; but, being a Man of a haughty Spirit, the Affront ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that he died of Grief before the Year expired.

*The Chancellor diſgraced.*

The Chancellor not long after had his Turn, and was diſgraced, occaſioned by his refuſing to ſet the Seals to an Order, for removing a Cauſe from one Court to another; and, his Conduct being examined into, he was found ſo faulty, that he was firſt ſtript of his Office, and then confined to the Tower of *Bourges*,* from whence he obtained his Liberty on no other Terms, than giving up his All for his Ranſom. At laſt he died in the City of *Paris*, oppreſſed with Poverty, Ignomy, and old Age; ſo unhappy, that, even in this lamentable Condition, he was not pitied. This is not an improper *Mirrour* for great Men to ſee in what ſlippery Places they ſtand. Though, with Pleaſure we can ſay upon examining the Accounts, given by the *Engliſh* Hiſtorians of our Lord Chancellors for above 200 Years, they have generally behaved worthy that high Office.

*Dies for Want.*

*The Conſtable diſgraced.*

As to the Conſtable, his Favour with the King did not laſt long after *Poyet*'s Diſgrace, for his Majeſty ſoon forbid him

* The ſame Place where *Lewis* D. of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis* the XIIth, was confined, upon his being taken Priſoner at the memorable Battle of *St. Albins*. See Vol. I.

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him the Court, and never more recalled him. Upon theſe Alterations he intruſted his Affairs with Cardinal *Turnon* and Admiral *Annebant*, Perſons of no extraordinary Genius, but of Affection leſs intereſted, and wholly devoted to their Maſter.

*The Emperor and* Francis *fall out.* 1543.

Though the Emperor and *Francis* had been reconciled this Year, yet *Charles* joined with *England* againſt *France*, and both declared War; ſo that each Prince turned his Mind to making the neceſſary Preparations.

Henry *and* Francis *at War.* 1544.

In Conſequence of this *Henry* the VIIIth landed at *Calais*, at the Head of 30,000 Men, and begun his Operations by laying Siege to *Bologn*, which he took, and then returned to *England*.

*The War continued,* 1545.

The King of *France* employed part of this Year in endeavouring to recover *Bologn* by Force of Arms, but he miſcarried, which put him upon projecting to attack King *Henry* in his own Kingdom, and for that Purpoſe fitted out a Fleet: But this Way of proceeding did not by any means anſwer what was propoſed, (for *Free Britons* were ever alarmed at a *French* Government) which cauſed *Francis* ſeriouſly to think of ſettling the Matters in Difference with the *Engliſh* in an amicable Way.

*Peace reſtored.* 1546.

This Year a Peace was made between *Henry* and *Francis*, by which the *French* was to pay 800,000 Crowns to the *Engliſh*, who agreed thereon to reſtore *Bologn*, &c.

*A Recapitulation of* Francis's *Actions.*

The latter Years of *Francis*'s Life were grievous to him, the Remembrance of the Misfortunes, which the ill Conduct of his Miniſters had brought upon him, plunged him into a deep Melancholy, though ſome Authors relate, that the Occaſion of this moody



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Diſpoſition was a Diſeaſe he catched from one of his Miſtreſſes. It ſeems he fell in Love with the Wife of a noted Counſellor in *Paris*, a very beautiful and graceful Woman, who could not be prevailed upon to indulge the King's Wiſhes, but diſmiſſed him with very harſh Words, which grieved the King exceedingly. But ſome of the Pimps Royal hearing of it, they told the King, that he might force her away by his Authority. Upon this one of them informed the Lady, who imparted it to her Huſband. The Counſellor, perceiving that both himſelf and his Wife would be obliged to leave the Kingdom, and were not ſure of eſcaping unleſs they obeyed the Monarch, at laſt gave his Wife leave to indulge the King in all his Wiſhes, and, that he might be no Obſtacle, pretended to have Buſineſs in the Country for eight or ten Days. In the mean time he kept himſelf private in *Paris*, and, by frequenting Bawdy-houſes, endeavoured to catch the *Venereal* Diſeaſe, in order to give it his Wife, that ſhe might infect the King. He ſoon found what he ſought, effectually infected his Wife, the King catched the Diſtemper of her, and he gave it afterwards to ſeveral of his Miſtreſſes, though himſelf was never throughly cured; for, during the Remainder of his Days, he was unhealthy, peeviſh, troubleſome, and inacceſſible.

His Children alſo brought great Afflictions upon him; his eldeſt Son, who was called after his own Name, was poiſoned with ſomewhat infuſed into a Cup of Water, and died in the Caſtle of *Turnon*, the Loſs of whom gave *Francis* great Uneaſineſs. His ſecond ſwayed the Sceptre after him by the Name of *Henry* the IId, who afflicted his Father greatly, not only in holding a Correſpondence with *Montmorency*, who was in Diſgrace, but by making a Cabal againſt the Dutcheſs *D'Eſtampes*.

Some

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Some Perſons of good Senſe are of Opinion, that the bare Competition between *Charles* and *Francis*, was more than ſufficient for the *Proteſtants* to ſupport themſelves; and that the Reaſon why *Luther* had ſucceeded better than many *Reformers*, his Predeceſſors, was, becauſe he made his Appearance under the favourable Auſpices of thoſe two great Princes thwarting one another, who favoured this new Sect alternately; and, when it was ſettled in *Germany*, it ſent ſuch Succours to the *Calviniſts* in *France*, as were ſufficient to enable them to keep their Ground.

*Francis* made a Regulation throughout his Dominions which deſerves remarking, for he aboliſhed the carrying on the Proceedings of Law in a different Language from that of his Kingdom, which had been to that Time in *Latin*; * and this became ſo much corrupted that it was ſcarce known but by the Terminations of the Words. *Varillas*, the Hiſtorian, obſerves, "That Chancellor *Poyet* had procured "this Reformation in the Proceedings a little before "his Fall:" But *Germany* had been reformed in this Particular near three Centuries before; for the Emperor, *Rodolphus* the Iſt, moved by various Complaints of the *German* Empire, finding himſelf as it were under the Yoke of foreign Secretaries, whom he was forced to employ, to the great Prejudice of his Affairs, becauſe they often betrayed him, held a Diet at *Nuremberg*, *Anno* 1252, in which it was enacted,



* In like Manner the Laws of *England* were in the *Old Norman French*, upon the coming in of *William*, called the *Conqueror*; but afterwards the Proceedings of the Law were carried on in *Latin* till the Time of the *Grand Rebellion*, when they were rendered into *Engliſh*; but no ſooner did the *Reſtoration* take Place, than the Proceedings were again carried on in *Latin*, which by Time was become as faulty as what *Varillas* had complained of. This induced the Parliament, the Beginning of his preſent Majeſty King *George* IId's Reign, to take the ſame into Conſideration, and an Act ſoon after paſſed, 'That the Proceedings of the 'Courts of Juſtice in *England* 'ſhould be carried on in *Engliſh*.

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with the general Conſent of all the States of the Empire, "That thenceforwards the *German* Lan-"guage ſhould be uſed in the Chancelleries, as well "as in publick Contracts."

*His Death and Character.*

1547. King *Francis* paid his Debt to Nature the laſt Day of *March*, and Magnificence and State attended him to his very Tomb; his Funeral was made with extraordinary Pomp, no leſs than eleven Cardinals attending; and was buried at St. *Dennis*. He never had, ſays *Miſeray*, "His Parallel in Liberality, "in Magnificence and Clemency; he would have been "a great Prince in all Things, had he not ſuffered "himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed by the evil Counſel of "his Miniſters, and his too great Paſſion towards "Women." *Voltaire* gives this Character of him and two of his Succeſſors; "The many Failings of "*Francis* the Iſt will be excuſed for the Sake of "the Arts and Sciences, of which he was the Fa-"ther: Bleſt will be the Memory of *Henry* the IVth, "who conquered his Kingdom, firſt by his Valour, "and then by his Clemency; the Generoſity of "*Lewis* the XIVth, in protecting theſe Arts, that "had their Riſe from *Francis*, will be ever ap-"plauded."

*M E-*

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# *MEMOIRS of the* EMPEROR CHARLES *the Vth.*

FERDINAND, Brother to *Charles* the Vth, was elected King of the *Romans* at *Cologn*, on the Eve of *Epiphany*, in the Year 1531, and on the 11th of *January* was with great Solemnity crowned with the Silver Crown of *Charlemain*, kept as a great Relick. After the Solemnity was over the Emperor uſed all his Endeavours to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes in a League againſt *Soliman*, called the *Great Turk*, whoſe powerful Arms threatned all *Europe*.

*The* Turks *invade* Hungary. 1532.

In the Year 1532 *Soliman* entered *Hungary* with a mighty Army, which was ſo effectually oppoſed by the *Germans*, that the Enemy made no material Progreſs, but returned to *Conſtantinople*, and the Emperor ſet out for *Italy*: From whence, having ſettled his Affairs in that Country, he took his Way through *Pavia*, and came to *Genoa*, where he was entertained in the Palace of *Andrew Doria*. At the Iſles of *Hieres* he was preſented with freſh Proviſions by the General of the *French* Gallies, and in *April*, he landed ſafe at *Barcelona*.

*The Emperor lands in* Spain. 1533.

The *French* King having married his Son, the Duke of *Orleans*, to *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, they had an Interview on the 6th of *October* 1533, at *Marſeilles*. Every body judged this Interview would produce a bloody War, becauſe the *French* King aimed at *Milan*, and the Pope at *Modena* and other Places; but the Emperor had no Mind to part with either of them; though, through his

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his continual Cares and Toils, grown old, yet was now but 33 Years of Age.

*Pope* Clement *dies.* 1534. On the 25th of *September*, 1534, died Pope *Clement* the VIIIth at *Rome*, and was ſucceeded the 4th of *Oct.* by the Cardinal *Ferneſius*, who took the Name of *Paul* the IIId.

Paul *the* IIId *elected Pope.* 1535.

*Soliman*, the *Great Turk*, having ravaged the Coaſts of *Italy*, and actually got Poſſeſſion of *Tunis*, it induced the Emperor again to raiſe an Army, in order to oppoſe his Progreſs: Accordingly *Charles* went on board his Fleet with an Army of 20,000 Men, and landed in *Africa*, where he gave the *Great Turk* Battle, on the 26th of *July*, 1536, and obtained ſo ſignal a Victory, that he was enabled to reſtore the *Mooriſh* Prince to his Throne. Then he marched to *Tunis* in compleat Order of Battle, but greatly fatigued with Heat and Thirſt. Some *Arabs* being diſcovered upon certain Hills from *Tunis*, * (the Army having halted to gather up all Stragglers) from which they could diſcover white Flags ſet up in the Caſtle; the Canon fired without Balls, no Enemy appeared, and no Man could gueſs at what they meant: But the Emperor proceeded with his Army to the Walls of the City, where he was met by ſome Citizens, who begged that the City might not be plundered, offering a great Sum of Money for a Ranſom. It

*The Emperor beats the Enemy in* Africa. 1536.

* The City of *Tunis* contained 10,000 Houſes, and in them above 50,000 Inhabitants; it had three Suburbs, in one of which were 10,000 Inhabitants. The Gates were 40 in Number, though its Strength is but ſmall, being ſix Miles in Compaſs, and for that Reaſon but indifferently walled or fortified. Its Situation is upon the Bay oppoſite to *Galeta*, and but three Leagues from it. It has never a River, and only one Well, ſo that all the Houſes are ſupplied by Ciſterns. Corn is ſcarce by Reaſon of the Dryneſs of the Soil, and what they ſow is watered by Trenches of Water drawn from Wells. There are two Palaces in the City, one old and the other new, and both well built; there are alſo 100 Moſques with five Towers each, the larger of which are very beautiful both within and without.

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It was very difficult to reſtrain the Soldiers, who had ſuffered much, and the Emperor gave no Anſwer to the Requeſt, but left the Soldiers to act at Diſcretion; who, finding the Gates ſhut, though no body offered any Oppoſition, broke them open, and fell immediately to work with ſuch Cruelty, that they butchered above 10,000 Inhabitants without reſpect to Sex or Age. At laſt the Emperor went to the Caſtle, ſet the Captives at Liberty, and cauſed it to be proclaimed through the City, "That no Man, "upon Pain of Death, ſhould preſume to kill or take "any more *Moors*." Above 18,000 Captives were taken in *Tunis*, and were ſo cheap, that a Slave was ſold for ten Ducats, and near 20,000 *Chriſtians* were delivered out of Captivity.

*Tunis plundered.*

After the Emperor's Return from his Expedition to *Africa*, in the Year 1537, a War broke out between him and the King of *France*, and in the mean time the Emperor of the *Turks* turned his Arms againſt *Venice*, which was carried on with various Succeſs on both Sides.

*The Emperor returns to* Europe. 1537.

This Year proved more peaceable than the former Years, through the Endeavours of Pope *Paul* the IIId, who uſed all his Intereſt to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Infidels*, and had already entered into a League for that Purpoſe with the Emperor and the *Venetians*; but, to make it yet ſtronger, wanted the King of *France* to come into it; which in Time he accompliſhed, by prevailing upon *Charles* and *Francis* to ſign a Truce for ten Years, and it was proclaimed at *Nice* the 18th of *June*.

*Pope* Paul *endeavours to reſtore Peace.* 1538.

This Year began with the Death of the Empreſs, (before which, beſides a great Eclipſe of the Sun on the 8th of *April*, there appeared in the *Weſt* a Comet for thirty

*The Empreſs dies.* 1539.

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thirty Days ſucceſſively) who fell ſick at *Toledo*; being big with Child, was delivered of a dead Male Infant, and departed this Life in the 38th Year of her Age.

*The Emperor paſſes from* Spain *through* France.

Notwithſtanding the very great Difference between the Emperor and the King of *France* for ſeveral Years, even to be carried ſo far as to challenge to fight each other; and that nothing but the Death of the one or the other ſeemed any Way probable to reconcile them; yet, ſo liable to change are human Affairs, this very Emperor, before this Year expired, ſet out to paſs into the *Low Countries* through *France*, taking only the *French* King's bare Word for his being well treated, which Journey the Emperor took on the following Occaſion.

*A Rebellion in* Flanders.

His Imperial Majeſty was preparing to paſs from *Spain* into *Italy* when News was brought him, that a Rebellion was broke out in *Ghent*, which made him alter his Reſolution, and take a Journey for *Flanders* through *France*; many endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, becauſe of the Danger of putting himſelf in the Power of *Francis*; but, not regarding their Remonſtrance, he ſet forward by the Poſt with a ſmall Retinue.

Monſieur *Granville*, being ſent before to advertiſe the King of his coming, he preſently ſent his two Sons, the Dauphin, and the Duke of *Orleans*, with the Conſtable *Montmorency*, to meet and conduct him. Some report, when the Duke of *Orleans* met the Emperor in *France*, he, laying his Hand on his Back, ſaid, *Yield yourſelf a Priſoner*. To which the Emperor made no Anſwer, but embraced him.

*The Emperor attended by the Dauphin and the Duke of* Orleans.

*Meets King* Francis.

In *January* the Emperor and the King of *France* met at *Chaſtel-Herault*, went thence to *Amboiſe*, where, the Hangings in the Emperor's Bed-chamber being ſet on fire, he had like

1540.

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like to have been ſtifled. Then they removed to *Blois*, and thence to *Orleans*, where a Conſultation was held about detaining the Emperor, which *Montmorency* exclaimed againſt, as a baſe Breach of Faith: But an Accident, or rather Contrivance, ſaved the Emperor. He being in Diſcourſe with the Dutcheſs *D'Eſtampes*, who was in great Favour with the King, deſignedly let fall a Ring of a prodigious Value, which ſhe took up and offered him; but he refuſed to receive it, deſiring her to keep it in Memory of his paſſing through *France*. This Generoſity ſo obliged the Lady, that ſhe prevailed on the King not to detain him; ſo that we may ſay, *for once the* French *kept their Faith*. From *Orleans* the Emperor went to *Fountainbleau*, ſpent ſome Days there, and then proceeded to *Paris*, where he was received with the greateſt Magnificence imaginable. The King waited on the Emperor as far as *St. Quintin*, and the two Young Princes conducted him to *Valenciennes*, and there they took their Leave of him, who was highly pleaſed with the Honours done him in *France*. Upon his Arrival in *Flanders* he ſoon found the Means of quelling the Rebellion that had broke out at *Ghent*.

*The* Turks *and* Venetians *conclude a Peace.*

This Year the *Turks* and *Venetians* concluded a Peace. In *Sept.* Pope *Paul* confirmed the Order inſtituted by St. *Ignatius* of *Loyola*, commonly known by the Name of the *Society of Jeſus*, which was afterwards again confirmed by Pope *Julius* the IIId; the Founder whereof died in the Year 1556.

*The Emperor paſſes into* Germany. 1541.

The Beginning of this Year the Emperor paſſed into *Germany*, and held a Diet at *Ratisbon*, wherein the principal Determination was, "That Matters of Religion ſhould continue in the ſame Poſture they were "in, till a General Council met, or till the next Diet,



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" which was to meet in eighteen Months." After the Diet broke up the Emperor paſſed into *Italy*, and he met the Pope at *Lucca*, where he prepared for his Expedition to *Algiers*, and accordingly repaired on board his Fleet; but a terrible Storm ariſing, before he had landed his Stores and Proviſions, it prevented his taking the City. In the Height of this Storm came his Fleet from *Spain*, all which, except ſome few great Ships, were caſt away; ſo that in a ſhort Space above 150 Ships were loſt; yet ſome Horſes and the Men were ſaved; ſeveral Gallies alſo, having ſtruggled all Night with the Tempeſt, in the Morning run themſelves a-ground, where the *Arabs* killed the Men as they came on Shore. The Emperor took this Diſappointment very patiently, being only heard to ſay, *Thy Will be done.*

*Makes an unfortunate Expedition to* Algiers.

*Ferdinand Cortes*, who conquered *Mexico*, was with the Emperor in this Expedition, and adviſed him to return into *Spain*, and leave him with the Army to take the City; but the great Officers oppoſed it; ſo that Orders were given to repair on board, and, that there might be more Room for the Men, ſo many Ships being loſt, the Horſes were ordered to be thrown into the Sea, which the Owners being unwilling to perform, the Emperor himſelf went from Ship to Ship to ſee it done. His Majeſty going once towards the Sea, the Soldiers, thinking he would go on board and leave them, began to mutter; but he, turning to them with a pleaſant Countenance, ſaid, *Do not fear, my Friends, I am not going; I aſſure you, if any Body be left here, it ſhall be me; for I will not ſtir till I ſee you all ſafe.* In fine, the Forces were all ſhipped off, and, after a troubleſome Voyage, the Emperor landed ſafe at *Carthagena*, where he was received with extraordinary Joy, all *Spain* being in great fear for him; and thus ended this unhappy Expedition.

This

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This Year was no ſooner approached, but another War broke out between the Emperor and *France*, which continued for three Years, during which Time the *French* took and loſt *Luxemburg*; and the Duke of *Cleve*, taking Part againſt the Emperor, loſt his Dominions. During the War the Emperor firſt went into *Italy*, to take care of his Intereſt in that Country; then proceeded into *Germany*; and, on the 15th of *Nov.* 1543, married his only Son *Philip*, then ſixteen Years of Age, to *Mary* Princeſs of *Portugal*, Daughter to King *John* the IIId, and *Catherine* the Emperor's Siſter.

*War between him and* France. 1542.

*His Son marries the Princeſs of* Portugal. 1543.

In 1544 the Emperor held a Diet at *Spire*, where the *German* Electors came to a Reſolution to aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the *Turks*; but the Conſideration reſpecting Religion was deferred to a more convenient Opportunity, the Emperor having his Hands full of the *French* and *Turks*. However, he had the good Fortune to defeat the *French* in *Piedmont*; and then marched his Army in order to make the beſt of his Way to *Paris*. In the Courſe of this Progreſs he took ſeveral Places, and at length came within ſeventeen ſhort Leagues of that City, which put the Citizens into ſo great a Conſternation, that they begun to ſhip off their beſt Effects: This cauſed *Francis* to ſend 6000 Foot and 300 Horſe to defend the City; yet he ſoon entered into a Treaty with the Emperor, and Peace was proclaimed at *Creſpi*, which prevented the further Effuſion of Blood on that Side.

*A Diet at* Spire. 1544.

*The Emperor beats the* French.

*A Peace between him and* France.

Whilſt that Peace was concluding *Henry* the VIIIth and his Army were before *Bologn*, whither the Emperor ſent to give him an Account of what he



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had done; to whom *Henry* ſent for Anſwer, "That "his *Imperial* Majeſty might do for himſelf as he "pleaſed, but, for his own Part, he intended to carry "on the War."

*A French Officer put to Death for Cowardice.*

The Batteries raiſed againſt *Bologn* ſo terrified the Governor, that he baſely ſurrendred the Place without ſtanding an Aſſault, for which he afterwards loſt his Head at *Paris*.

The Marſhal *de Biez*, who had thrown himſelf into *Montrueill*, made a better Defence, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had beſieged him, fearing the *French* Army might obſtruct his rejoining the King, drew off and returned to the main Army. Then *Henry*, having left *Bologn* well provided for Defence, returned to *Calais*, and thence ſoon ſet ſail for *England:* And the Emperor, having put an End to the War, ſpent the Winter at *Bruſſels*.

1545. The Year 1545 was the quieteſt *Charles* the Vth enjoyed in the whole Courſe of his Reign; for King *Francis*, tired with continual Wars, and Age coming on him, ſtrictly obſerved the Peace lately concluded; and the King of *England*, ſatisfied with the taking of *Bologn*, peaceably remained in his own Kingdom; ſo that there was no more War between theſe three Monarchs during the Remainder of their reſpective Lives.

*The Emperor turned his Arms againſt the* Lutherans.

The Emperor next commenced a War againſt the *Lutherans*, which was carried on in the Year 1546, and at laſt ended in his Favour. In this Year died the King of *England*, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Edward*.

1546.

*A Rebellion in* Naples.

This Year was uſhered in with a Rebellion breaking out in *Naples*, which, with Difficulty, was afterwards ſuppreſſed. On the 30th of *March* the *French* King died, and was ſucceeded by his Son *Henry*.

1547.

On

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On the 10th of *Nov.* died Pope *Paul* the IIId, and was ſucceeded by *John Maria*, Cardinal *de Monte*, a moſt virtuous Man, who took the Name of *Julius* the IIId.

*Paul the IIId dies, and is ſucceeded by* Julius *the* IIId. 1548.

In ſhort, the Emperor was no ſooner rid of one War, but he was engaged in another, to the Time he abdicated the Throne. And Hiſtorians ſay of him in general, that he was a Bigot in Religion, but otherwiſe a Prince of great Wiſdom and Penetration, and, to ſhew he was a Prince of Humour, they relate ſome of his Determinations and Adventures, particularly his deciding a Controverſy between two great Ladies in Point of Ceremony after the following Manner.

*The Emperor continually at War.*

Madam *de Berg* and Madam *de Brederode*, who had quarrelled in the Church for Precedency, brought their Cauſe to be tried before the Council of State, where, in Conſideration of the great Quality of both Parties, they were declared equal; but, not being ſatisfied, appealed to the Emperor's Judgment, who, to humble their Pride, gave Sentence in theſe Words, *Let the maddeſt go foremoſt*, or, *the greateſt Fool go firſt*. To this give us leave to add two of his pleaſant Adventures.

*He determines a Suit very merrily.*

*Firſt*, Being eager in the Purſuit of a Stag, he loſt his Company, and killed the Stag two Miles from *Madrid*; when an old Country Fellow happened to come by with an Aſs and a Load of Wood, he offered to give him more than the Wood was worth, if he would carry the Stag to *Madrid*; and the Countryman merrily anſwered, *By the Lord, Friend, I believe you're a Fool; you ſee the Stag is heavier than the Aſs and the Wood together, and yet you would have the poor Aſs carry him; it were better that you, who are a young luſty Fellow, ſhould carry them both.*

*Two odd Adventures that befel the Emperor.*

The

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The Emperor was pleaſed with the Reply, and, whilſt he waited for his Company, fell into Diſcourſe with the old Man, aſking him, *How many Kings he had known?* The Peaſant anſwered, *I have lived under five Kings*, John, *his Son* Henry, *King* Ferdinand, *King* Philip, *and this* Charles.——*Which of them, Father*, ſays the Emperor, *was the beſt, and which the worſt?*——*There is no Doubt to be made*, replied the old Man, *but* Ferdinand *was the beſt*; *and who the worſt, I ſhan't ſay*; *but he we have now is bad enough, always rambling to* Italy, Germany, *and* Flanders, *carrying all the Money out of* Spain; *and, though his Revenues are great enough to conquer the World, yet he is always laying new Taxes*; *ſo that we poor Countrymen are quite beggared.* The Emperor, finding the Fellow was in earneſt, began to plead his own Cauſe, the beſt he could without diſcovering himſelf, till his Company came up; when the Countryman, ſeeing the Reſpect they ſhewed him, ſaid, *It were pleaſant, if it ſhould prove to be the King, but had I known it, I ſhould have ſaid much more:* And the Emperor was ſo far from being diſpleaſed with the Diſcourſe, that he gave the old Man a Sum of Money, and ſettled a Portion on his Daughter.

*Second*, His *Imperial* Majeſty another Time, loſing himſelf a hunting, came after Midnight to a little Village, almoſt ſtarved with Cold, and, knocking up the Curate, deſired he would let him go into his warm Bed, roaſt him a Pullet, get him ſome good Wine, and he would pay well for it. The Curate was contented, but aſked for Money to ſend for the Wine and Pullet, becauſe he had none himſelf. The Emperor told him he had none about him, but his Man would come in the Morning and pay all Expence. Neither having Money, the Curate ſent out upon Truſt, gave him his warm Bed, prepared the Refreſhment, and accommodated him as well as he could; for all which

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which he was well paid: But the Emperor resolved never to go without Money afterwards.

*The Emperor resigns his Dominions to his Son. 1556.*

This Emperor, though he met with such Success, and was possessed of so large Dominions, in the Year 1556, voluntarily resigned his Crowns to his Brother and Son, and retired into a Monastery of Monks of the Order of St. *Jerome*. In the former Part of his Life, we beheld him environed with the Glory, Wealth, and Power of the World; here we see him in his Monastery, poor, humble, solitary, sickly, and forsaken by his own Consent.

*Retires to a Monastery.*

The Monastery of *Juste*, Monks of St. *Jerome*, to which his *Imperial* Majesty withdrew himself, is in a solitary but pleasant Place, seven Leagues from *Valencia*; the nearest Town, called *Coacos*, containing 500 Houses, is within a Quarter of a League of it, and yet not seen from it, by reason of a Hill that rises between them.

*His Manner of living there in a mean State.*

The Emperor lived here in so mean a Manner, that only the Room he lay in was hung with some old black Cloth; and in it he had only a one-armed decayed * Chair; his Habit always black, tho' indifferent; he had indeed a little Silver Plate, but it was quite plain. It is said, in the Exercises of Prayers, Reading, and Meditation, he far out-did the most of his religious Function. He said the Divine Office; and,

* So that we here see the Emperor at last in as low a Condition (tho' with this Difference, by his own Consent) as Cardinal *Wolsey* was reduced to; and likewise spent the last Days of his Life, in as edifying and penetential a Manner as that great Prelate had done before him. As to the experienced, thinking Part of Mankind, they often rightly consider the Instability of human Affairs; which the other Part, the arrogant Favourites of Fortune, as often forget. Let them therefore gaze on these Pictures, and reflect what their Greatness at last may come to, and then it is hoped their usual Vanity will abate.

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and, if Sickneſs obſtructed, his Confeſſor ſaid it in his Preſence. Upon all Holidays he heard High Maſs, and every Day Low Maſs: Tho' he was not able to riſe, he had a Sermon after Dinner, and when that failed a Leſſon was read to him out of St. *Auguſtin.* He loved Muſick, and had an excellent Ear, yet would have none but the Friars to ſing in the Choir. His Zeal for Religion was ſo great, that, being told of the apprehending of *Cazalla*, and other Hereticks, he ſaid, *Nothing could draw him out of a Monaſtery, unleſs there was need of him to oppoſe them.* He would never hear the Arguments of the *Lutherans*, whom he called *Hereticks*, ſaying, *he was no Scholar, therefore they might inſtil ſome Errors into him, which would be afterwards hard to remove.*

In this Manner the Emperor ſpent the Remainder of his Life; his laſt Hours drew on, the Gout had left him for ſeveral Days, the Ague took him, and, by degrees growing worſe, about two o' Clock in the Morning, when all was very ſtill, he ſaid, *It is now Time*; but, though he was ſo ſpent, four Men without Difficulty could not ſtir him in his Bed, yet he turned upon his Side as readily as if he had ailed nothing: Taking the Crucifix in one Hand, and the Candle in the other, he continued a while looking on the Crucifix without ſpeaking a Word, but then, with a Voice ſo loud that it could be heard in the other Room, he ſay'd, *O JESUS!* and gave up the Ghoſt. He died on the 21ſt of *Sept.* 1558, aged 59 Years and five Months, having reigned 43 Years and been Emperor 38. His Body was put into a Leaden Coffin; then into one of Cheſnut Tree Planks, and was buried under the High Altar at the Monaſtery, where he died.

*His Death and Burial.* 1558.

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